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ART. I.—HJALTLAND.

‘And wake the gales on Foula’s steep
Or lull wild Sumburgh’s waves to sleep.’

—*The Pirate.*

IN a former number of this *Review* * I endeavoured to summarise for the reader certain main characteristics of the Orkney Isles in respect of their natural scenery, early history, antiquities, etc. In the present paper I propose to treat on the same lines the more remote twin-group of our Northern British archipelago, the Isles of Shetland, or, to give them their Norse appellation, Hjaltland.

If the tourist finds it a far cry to the Orkneys, much more will he account it so to the Shetlands. For, whereas the Pentland Firth is but a span of some six or seven miles across, reckoning from the Caithness shore to the nearest of the Orcadian islands, —the northernmost land of Orkney and [excluding Fair Isle] the most southerly point of Zetland, Sumburgh Head, are separated by a fifty miles’ interval of as turbulent Atlantic water as can be found over the wide world. But this distance by no means measures the length of the sea journey the British voyager to Hjaltland must perforce take. For, the shortest possible unbroken spell of shipboard is by steamer between Kirkwall and

* *Scottish Review*, April, 1896.—‘The Orkney Isles.’

Lerwick, a passage of 9 or 10 hours, sometimes more, according to weather.

Thus, it might be inferred that the divergences from the normal typical conditioning of the Scottish mainland, which I noted in discussing Orkney, would be still more marked in the isolated region of Zetland. And in regard of place-names, speech, history, traditions, manners, and customs, even to the aspects of the landscape of Hjaltland, this is so. The dullest observer could hardly fail to notice it. When it is remembered that the extreme northern point of the Shetland Isles is not much farther distant from the Norwegian coast than it is from the Caledonian mainland, it seems less strange to think of those isles as having once belonged to Norway as completely as do now the adjoining Faröes and Iceland to the sovereignty of Denmark.

As in Orkney, vestiges of early Christian settlements are strewn thick through the Shetlands. But the actual remains of the ancient church buildings are scanty and fragmentary; nor has Shetland anything to show like the noble Minster of Kirkwall. As for the Pictish Towers (brughs or brochs), they also, as we shall see hereafter, abound in the outer cluster of the Nordreys. Of incidents of domestic life, or those dramatic personal adventures which tinge with such vivid colour the Saga-story of Orcady, we have comparatively few concerning the homesteads and notables of Hjaltland. Still, there are ample to demonstrate the frequent visits of the Nordreyan Jarls and the kings of Norway to Zetland, and the constant intercourse which was maintained between the Scandinavian motherland and its dependencies in this northern *Ægean* of Britain. Substantially, the Norse history of Orkney is the Norse history of Zetland. The same suzerainty exercised from Bergen; the same dynasty of rival Jarls contending one with another for supremacy. Betwixt the two insular groups fleets of galleys were continually sailing, bent on plunder or vengeful errand. Orkneyman and Hjaltlander had a like zest for wassail or war: the island homes of both were never secure from the foraying of swashbucklers. The clash and clang of arms were perennial: and, in the deadly sea-fights where ship engaged ship at close quarters, assuredly

'every battle of the warriors' was 'with confused noise and garments rolled in blood!'

From the artist's standpoint Shetland, if we except the highly picturesque isle of Hoy, stands head and shoulders above Orkney for interest. Cultivated fields and vegetable patches are far less in evidence: for the most part the Zetland isles present wilder wastes of heath, more barren soil, duskier peatbogs interspersed with innumerable small lakes in the moorland hollows. But, above all, it is beyond question the desolate grandeur of the massive cliffs along the coastline, torn and shattered into shapes fantastic of stack, skerry, arch, and vaulted cavern, which in Shetland appeal so to the lover of seascape scenery.

In the domain of romance, again, Hjaltland must ever take a special place as having been made to captivate for all time the imagination of reading men and women in the pages of *The Pirate*. For myself, if the egoism may be excused, I may say it was the dream and aspiration of my life, ever since on the verge of my teens I read that fascinating book, to see with my own eyes the rugged rifted precipices of Sumburgh and Fitful Head, to tramp the mosses of Dunrossness with Mordaunt Mertoun, to explore the ancient mansion of the convivial old Udaller, and to track the footsteps of the Sybil Norna through the principal scenes of her wanderings. And this, after long waiting, it was recently given me during two summers in some sort to do.

With these preliminary observations, I will ask the reader to make a start with me from Kirkwall by steamboat *en route* to the chief town of the Shetlands, Lerwick. Let us suppose it may be near about midsummertide, and not the typical British weather described by the Latin historian 'foul with frequent storms and mists,' though we may pray for his qualification as to the temperature.* In this extremity of Britain at that season we shall be able to endorse the further observation of Tacitus that one may distinguish but little interval between the end and the beginning of daylight. And if, wrapped up in an adequate overcoat you prefer sitting out on deck and can keep your eyes

* 'Cœlum crebris imbribus nebulisque fœdum: asperitas frigorum abest.'—Tacitus, *Agric. Vit.*, XII.

open, there is much to recompense you. Exquisite indescribable tints of sea and firmament, amber, opaline, roseate, cerulean; with perhaps a passing vessel or fishing lugger encountered dark and shadowy in the twilight. Then, over yonder, about midway in the great Sound which separates the two insular clusters, where we discern a brilliant light, is Fridarey (Fair Isle), its western face all cleft into lofty stacks and *gios* by the tremendous ocean-surge.

Fair Isle (isle of sheep) has quite a little history of its own. From its peculiar situation—an elevated holm lying in mid-sea between the Orkneys and Shetlands—its manifest advantages as a signal station were called into play near eight hundred years back. For it was one of the chain of beacon-lights erected by Jarl Páll Hakonsson, the fires whereof were to be lit on the approach of foes from Hjaltland. Directly the Fair Isle beacon was kindled and visible, the fire-signal was repeated from Rinansay in Orkney, and so on in succession through other Orcadian isles. The first lightkeeper on Fridarey, so the Orkneyinga Saga tells us, was one Dagfinn Hlödverson, who on one occasion was tricked into lighting up his beacon by a false alarm, the result of which was to pass the alarm on to the Orkneys and so collect a great band of Jarl Páll's fighting men. Soon thereafter, a certain Eirik took Dagfinn's place in charge of the Fridarey beacon, and he in his turn was outwitted by Uni (of Earl Rögnvald's following), who, under false pretences, got temporary custody of the beacon, and when no one was near drenched the fuel-pile with water. Whereupon it fell out that, on the coming south of Jarl Rögnvald and his warrior-band from Hjaltland, it was impossible to light the beacon; and so they were got to Westray or ever Earl Paul could be given timely warning of their movements. It was to Fridarey, also, that the renowned rover, Swein Asleifson, once had to betake himself for shelter in stress of weather with twelve of his galleys.

Coming down the centuries, we may picture to ourselves a scene of different complexion in these waters and upon our little lone islet. When Drake and Howard, in that memorable August of 1588, had crippled and discomfited the Spaniard in the chops of the English Channel, and when even the stars in their courses

had begun to fight against him, the great Armada, still numbering 120 vessels, was driven by the elements to steer for the Orkneys, and try to work back to Spain by way of the Pentland Strait and outside Ireland. With the pen of a pastmaster in graphic description, James Anthony Froude at this point in the drama reveals to us the situation :—

With 'a sea growing wilder as they passed the shelter of the Scotch coast,' the ships 'lost sight of each other for nearly a week. On the 9th-19th (August) the sky lifted, and Calderon found himself with the Almirante of Don Martinez de Recalde, the galleon of Don Alonzo, the San Marcos, and twelve other vessels. Sick signals were flying all round, and the sea was so high that it was scarcely possible to lower a boat. The large ships were rolling heavily, their wounded sails had been split by the gusts, and masts and yards carried away. That night it again blew hard. The fog closed in once more, and the next morning Calderon was alone on the open sea without a sail in sight, having passed between the Orkneys and the Shetlands. Recalde and da Leyva had disappeared with their consorts, having, as Calderon conjectured, gone north.'

Calderon luckily was able to catch up Medina Sidonia and the main body of the fleet miles outside Cape Wrath, but Recalde and Alonzo da Leyva, with five and twenty ships, steered north-west after passing the Orkneys. 'They went on,' says Froude, 'to latitude 62°,' shaping course for Iceland, but 'the wild west wind came down once more.' What a wild wester or nor'wester here must have meant to the hapless crews of Andalusians, Catalans, and Castilians, only those who have been out in such gales can realise.

'One galleon was driven on the Farøe Isles ; the rest turned about, and made for the Shannon or Galway. . . . A second was lost on the Orkneys.'

Though Fair Isle, as a matter of fact, is classed among the Shetlands, it was doubtless to the wreck of a galleon or transport on this desolate spot that the historian was referring. The ship was *El Gran Grifon*, belonging to the squadron [8th division of the fleet] commanded by Don Juan Gomez de Medina. Two hundred or more of the crew [soldiers and sailors] managed to get ashore, of whom—for we know many of the galleons were desperately short of victual and without fresh water—some died of starvation, thirst, or both ; and some were thrown over the cliffs or

otherwise despatched by the islesmen. A circumstantial and highly interesting narrative of the Spaniards' reception and doings during their five or six weeks' stay in the island is supplied by James Melvill, who fell in with the strangers, and extracted from them a recital of their adventures. The Zetlanders appear to have regarded the unfortunate foreigners with horror and apprehension as bringers of famine to the island: nay worse, as emissaries of the Prince of Darkness sent to eat them up.* Ultimately, the shipwrecked aliens got over to Dunrossness, and from thence to Dunkerque, calling in at Anstruther on the voyage south. These Spaniards, says Melvill, were, 'for the maist part young beardless men, sillie, trauchled, (worn out), and hungered.' The minister and bailies of the ancient Fife town, compassionating their sorry case, fed them for a day or two on 'kail, porridge, and fish.' On reaching France, Gomez de Medina showed his grateful sense of this kindness by making interest for the release of an Anstruther ship then detained in arrest at Calais.

The current story is that the remnant of the castaway Spaniards beguiled their enforced leisure in Fair Isle by teaching the natives how to dye and weave, after the fashions of Cadiz and Malaga, the quaint patterns in woolwork for which the island is still famed. Likewise, it has been supposed that in the physiognomies and complexions of some of the islanders one may still see traces of the consorting of the swarthy Spaniard with the Zetland women. As to the Spaniard's supposed weaving lessons, the tradition or common idea has certainly obtained large acceptance, and figures in many published works. On the other hand, an eminent archæologist has represented to me with much force that, considering the brief stay of the Iberians in Fair Isle and the determined hostility shown to them by the islanders, the popular notion hardly holds water. Moreover, there is the fact that the dyes used in the Fair Isle worsted work are produced from the lichens and peaty matter indigenous to the islands, while both dyes and patterns of the yarns appear to be much

* See the *Diary of Mr. James Melvill* (Bannatyne Club), p. 174; and an Account by Monteith of Egilsay, written in 1633.

the same as those generally met with throughout the Scottish Isles.

My first introduction to Hjaltland proper was in one of those dense sea-fogs which, evolved from the warm currents of the Gulf Stream, are so common in Shetland waters, especially during the months of July and August. We had been steaming alternately half-speed or dead slow for some hours, swaying about in the long swell of the Roost of Sumburgh, and ceaselessly sounding our fog whistle. We had crept unawares into some spot in the Dunrossness peninsula near enough to make out for a moment a grim beetling precipice, when the mist closed again. Thereafter nothing whatever was visible till, all in an instant, a gap opened in the dense vapour, and there abreast of the steamer loomed up a huge rampart of dark rock fissured and caverned, with a glimpse of a grand natural archway at its extremity, and above it the white walls and buildings of a lighthouse. The array of stern-faced cliffs turned out to be the southern shore of the isle of Bressay, and the point surmounted by the lighthouse was Kirkabister Ness. Here rounding the corner of the coast-line we pass a cluster of houses and the site of the ancient chapel of St. John, which evidently gave the Ness its name. A couple of miles onward the steamer enters Bressay Sound [Breideyarsund], and, curving in sharply to westward, unfolds to us a very striking and picturesque view of the town, shipping, and fine sheltered harbour, of Lerwick, the Zetland capital. Half-an-hour later we are alongside the quay and ashore on the main isle of Hjaltland.

No visitor should leave Lerwick without if possible making a day's excursion to the island of Noss lying outside Bressay; for its eastern cliffs are undoubtedly a marvel of wild and desolate grandeur hardly to be matched in the circuit of Great Britain. From Lerwick quay we can boat or ferry across to the western side of Bressay, landing near about the old church by the Voe or creek of Leiraness. Or, again, one can land at the jetty below Maryfield, where I believe it is customary to apply for permission to visit Noss. From here it is a pleasant walk of some $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 miles over the hill [that is, the dorsal ridge of the island] past two lochs to Brough. As one mounts the hill-slope and looks

back toward the stone-built town across the Strait, one can fancy the stirring and picturesque scene on the waters of Breideyarsund during that memorable summer of 1263. For here it was that, after two days' sail from Bergen, King Hakon's great armada first dropped their anchors, and stayed a month ere they pushed on southward to the Orkneys. In the euphuistic diction of the Hakon Saga 'no scarer of dragons saw ever together more numerous hosts' than these of 'the puissant far-renowned monarch,' 'the wise and glorious prince,' who had brought with him in his 'sea-borne wooden coursers' priests, chamberlains, and fighting men 'breakers of tempered metals,' to settle once for all who should be permanent sovereign of the Western Isles.* And three centuries later Kirkcaldy of Grange, who with Murray of Tullibardine after Carberry fight made sail for the Orkneys in hot pursuit of the fugitive Bothwell, was wrecked in the ship *Unicorn* on a reef outside Bressay Sound.† French and Spanish vessels, too, have been in these waters upon hostile errands against the Hollander, either fighting his warships or damaging his fishing craft.

From the eastern shore of Bressay one may have to signal for the ferry-boat to come over from the Noss side, sometimes—especially if it be a sea-fog as on the day I was there—by shouting a hail at the top of one's voice across the Sound of Noss, a narrow strait only a couple of hundred yards or more in width, but a veritable roost (*röst*) for the rapidity of its current. Having landed and passed the ruin of a little ancient chapel overlooking Nesti Voe, and the adjoining farm-stead, the best route, if we want thoroughly to explore the majestic cliffs, is to make their entire circuit or nearly so, a walk of perhaps four miles. Skirting the Voe of Mels and holding to the right along the cliff edge, we find ourselves mounting and mounting; the crags growing ever higher and higher, caverns and rock crannies gloomier and wilder, screams of sea-fowl shriller in chorus, boom

* In the pages of this *Review* [See Art. 'The Orkney Isles,' April 1896], I traced the further progress of this Norwegian expedition.

† See Schiern's *Life of James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell*, translated by D. Berry. Edinburgh: Douglas, 1880.

of the breakers albeit in remoter depths below yet more thunderous in its rumbling echoes.

For, the island is a sort of down or sloping heathy plain tilted up towards the east or seaward side, where the cliffs attain their highest altitude, and drop abruptly and almost vertically into the sea. When the extreme southern point of the island, Fladda Ness, is reached, the line of precipices takes a sharp turn to the left, and we find ourselves on the verge of a sheer and profound chasm over against the Holm of Noss. This holm is a tiny rock-islet, walled all round with a precipitous face, but flattened atop into a small area or plot of scant herbage, which in the breeding-season is a perfect aviary of sea-birds, chiefly gulls of sorts, swartbacks and kittiwakes, and puffin. Here they swarm, nest, and rear their broods, and across the narrow but tremendous abyss one sees them crowded together over the guano-bleached flat in serried rows, sitting or standing, and filling the air with their alarmed and discordant shrieks. Yet, notwithstanding one's presence in full view, with the instinct of wild creatures they seem to realise the assurance of safety for themselves, their eggs, or their young, afforded by the isolation of their nesting-place.

At one time a frail rope and cradle-bridge spanned the intervening chasm, by which the few sheep the islet could pasture were wont to be conveyed over to it season by season. This rude sling-bridge was first put in use about the middle of the 17th century, the cradle or conveyance-car being a box large enough to carry a man holding a sheep between his legs.

From the Holm, all the way up the ascent of Setter to the Noup or Head of Noss, is one succession of recessed *gios*, under-scarped with caves and perpendicular cliffs, with vantage-points here and there whence to look ahead round the sweep of Rumble Wick (the rumbling bay) to the majestic culminating steep of the Noup, a plumb-drop of close on 600 feet. Then, if one has a good head, and will peer down over the edge of the great precipices, an extraordinary concourse of birds may be seen perched, rank below rank, along the ledges and projections far down in the dark gulfs below; those on the lowermost shelves, mostly cormorants, craning out their long scraggy necks over the

ceaseless surf and dashed with its spray, while the swartback gulls sit higher up motionless, brooding stolidly out over the water, some of them (the younger birds) so close under your nose that you could almost touch them with a long stick. Then drop a stone or two among the conclave, and out from the walls of the Rumbling amphitheatre the birds will flash and flurry in the wildest pell-mell confusion, with an indescribable din of screeches, and alight at length, a legion of minute black and white specks far out in the dark heaving cauldron of waters below. One more note I made was that, seen from the brink of the highest acclivities, the gulls, as they flew about near the cliff-base, looked so diminutive as to suggest the idea of white, fluttering butterflies.

Such, then, are the wild aspects of nature to be had in a day's walk round the rock-ramparts of outlying Noss.

Facing inland from the Noup, one sees nought but a sloping plain of rough pasturage descending to the point we started from. Traversing this plain, my companion and I came across mushrooms in great abundance and fine condition, but, curiously, these do not appear to be prized in Shetland, for the tenant of the island-farmhouse by the chapel told us he had never heard or thought of making any use of them. When we told him the price these mushrooms would fetch per lb. in an English market, he and his wife seemed utterly astonished.

Bressay Island deserves a day's exploration to itself. The *gios*, stacks, caverns, and cliff-arches along the rifted stretch of shore, which converges wedge-like to the promontory of Bard, are something to be remembered. Then, besides Kirkabister, already mentioned, there are the ruins of two other ancient churches—St. Olaf's, at the north end of the island, overlooking Aith Voe, and St. Mary's on the shores of the Voe of Culbinsburgh. It was near the Culbinsburgh church that a memorial-slab was found bearing rude Christian emblems, plait-work patterns of the so-called Runic style, and an inscription in Ogham characters. To these we may add some archaic tumuli, and the indications of the Brough or Picts' Tower which has fastened its *cachet* upon a neighbouring loch and farmstead. And there are many lakes in the island, one of them named from

a solitary monolith or *menhir* near by, 'Loch of the Standing Stone.' Here, too, as throughout Hjaltland, a glance at the maps of the National Survey suffices to locate us at once in old Norseland, for the Icelandic topographical nomenclature abounds; such place-names as Grimsetter, Wadbister, Sweyn Ness, Gunnista, along with the *garths*, *holms*, *ayres*, *taings*, and *gios*, repeated from our Orkney experiences, but with the foreign smack in yet greater measure. Nor must I forget the diminutive, shaggy Shetland ponies, herds of which, mares and foals, run wild on Bressay, and are a ruling feature of the landscape. 'Long-backed and short-legged,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'more resembling wild bears than anything of the horse tribe. The stallions are, I believe, or were, segregated on Noss Island. The object is to reduce to the utmost the size of this breed of ponies in order to fit them for draught service in the mines. It is almost sad to think of the fate of these poor little shelties, for the most part destined to be transported from the free, fresh air of their native moors and buried underground away from the daylight, never to re-ascend the dismal shaft for a glint of sunshine or a sniff of pure atmosphere.

Lerwick, the chief town of the County of Zetland, has in great measure the primitive aspects of Orcadian Kirkwall and Stromness, especially of the latter; yet it has withal certain distinct characteristics of its own. Its main street has the same narrow and tortuous peculiarities we noted in the Orkney towns, and is paved like them with large flagstones, but without the central carriage track. A feature of the shops of Lerwick is the exquisite knitting in shawls, neckerchiefs, etc., almost rivalling lace work in fineness, and as soft as the Indian muslins of our younger days. The best specimens fetch high prices. Then, there are the comely and picturesquely clad Hjaltland women to be admired, ruddy and weather-tanned, brisk and bright-eyed. Of Sunday evenings, one notices the curious separation of the sexes. The male-folk would be seen either marching about in groups or seated in rows by themselves on suburban walls and palings; while the girls and women in knots of three or four together would be strolling up and down the

streets with linked arms, very much as is the wont of the *paysannes* in Brittany.

Naturally, all peasant-women in Shetland can row; and wherever one meets them along the country roads or on the moorlands, it is generally with an enormous peat creel on their backs, and incessantly knit-knitting as they walk. I was much struck with this: so also with the delightfully frank sympathetic manners and kindly aspect of the Zetland women-folk everywhere. Their comeliness, too, as I have said, is quite noticeable. Frames shapely and well-grown, and this notwithstanding their prevailing poverty and necessarily spare diet: light-brown hair, dark blue or violet eyes with well-marked lashes. An Iberian brunette strain is to be traced here and there among them, revealing itself in dark hazel eyes, black tresses, and slightly swarthy or olive complexion; but these are the exception. Their manner of salutation, too, accent, and colloquial phrases, have something of foreign flavour; different from the Orkney speech, different from the accost and intonation of the mainland Scots. In converse with them, a common expression of assent with your views of things in general will be 'that's true,' or 'Ay indeed and that's exactly true,' or 'Weel and that's right too.' Another quaint way of expressing surprise at something said, was 'I hear you.' These and such like characteristics give a dash of genuine salt to one's intercourse with these Hjaltland folk: a spice of piquancy refreshing indeed at this fag-end of our *siècle*, when the smart and the superfine and the 'up-to-date' have well-nigh played out every possible sensation of humanity.

Lerwick is still a great centre of the Shetland herring fishery; but its halcyon days, when the Dutch Mynheers used to swarm over with an immense fleet of smacks, and almost crowd out the Zetlanders from their own chief town, are long gone by. Yet even in these days some hundreds of the Hollanders' boats find their way across the North Sea to Bressay Sound during the annual fishing season: and doubtless still achieve in miniature a little of the smuggling of Schnapps and Schiedam, tobacco, and other miscellanea, which once gave a flourishing contraband trade to the great Netherlands fleet fishing year by year in Zetland waters.

Most of the writers of topical treatises on Shetland have hitherto assumed it to be the *Thule* of the ancient geographers. The great Sir Walter, with a romancist's license, gives expression to the same idea all through *The Pirate*. And when recently the town of Lerwick was granted municipal armorial bearings, the motto adopted in the coat was taken from Tacitus—'dispecta est Thule.' Ctesias of Cnidios, Diogenes Antonius, and Pytheas of Massilia, the Humboldt of his day, who in the course of his explorations penetrated far north into Scandinavian waters, wrote about Thule. The name was familiar to Strabo: it was known to Pliny and Juvenal: and Virgil in one of his poetic flights sings of 'ultima Thule.' Modern compilations of the 'Orbis veteribus notus,' based upon the geography of Claudius Ptolemaeus, label Shetland as Thule. Tacitus, moreover, when making mention of the circumnavigation of Duncansby Head by Agricola's fleet and the discovery of the Orkneys, proceeds to tell us that 'Thule, till now obscured by snow and winter, was descried.' And, to make the prevalent theory square with this passage, it has been inferred that the rocky outlying isle of Foula with its lofty heights and precipices may have been the part of Shetland alluded to as visible from the Roman ships.

The most recent discussion, however, on this vexed question seems to bring to light in the older designation of the name of Iceland the true Thule. 'Houl-i' (Celtice, 'Isle of the Sun'), suggesting the classic 'sol' and 'helios,' passes easily into the 'Thyle' of the venerable Bede; into Thile, and the Thule no less of the Irish monk Dicuil than of the ancients; all signifying that in that vast sombre volcanic yet glacial island, the sun at about the summer solstice stayed above the horizon for days together. 'No other island' [than Iceland], says Mr. Benediktsson, 'corresponding with the earliest descriptions, could have been known to the ancient Greek writers in which the sun for days never set.'*

* See an interesting paper read before the 'Viking Club' by Einar Benediktsson entitled 'The ancient Thule or the Isle of Sun,' 21st February, 1896. The President of this learned Society, in closing the discussion, told the meeting that 'he had come there as a Shetlander prepared to resent any attempt to locate Thule elsewhere than in Shetland, but he was bound to say the lecturer had converted him.'

This may seem rather a long dissertation about the meaning of a place-name. But, in view of the persistency with which modern writers upon Shetland have claimed for it identity with the classical *Thule*, what I have said may not be out of place.

And now I must take the reader with me to explore the long narrow peninsula which stretches away five and twenty miles nearly due south from Lerwick, and terminates in Dunrossness [Dyröstarnes, promontory of the Roost or tide-race]. From the circumstance of its being the main arena in which the characters of Scott's *Pirate* play their parts, this tract of country acquires an especial interest. Here one can trace out many of the scenes and localities presented to us by the great novelist, breathe his romantic atmosphere, and verify for oneself the remarkable fidelity of his colouring and delineations.

The peninsula is by no means accessible. That is, to say, there is one road along its eastern side from Lerwick to the region of Sumburgh and Fitful Heads, but no practicable public conveyance, so that the visitor is driven to hire a pair-horsed carriage if he wants to transport himself and his baggage to those parts. We will suppose the reader thus provided for, and on his way, if he has bespoken them, to the only habitable tourists' lodgings thereaway, namely, the house near Spiggie, belonging to the estimable brothers Henderson, fishery agents, farmers, universal providers—and one of them a notable 'master in Israel' to boot.

About a mile out of the Zetland capital, the road passes a most picturesque little lake, the Loch of Clickhimin, from the shore of which a spit or neck of land runs out into its waters. At the point of this spit is a remarkable example of one of those defensive circular towers, variously styled 'Pictish towers,' 'brochs,' 'brouchs,' 'borgs,' 'burghs,' to which we were introduced in Orkney. All over our northern archipelago these objects of antiquity cluster thick. They are numerous also in Caithness, Sutherland, and some of the Hebridean isles; and a few isolated specimens are met with elsewhere on the Scottish mainland. They were built without cement, with no windows or apertures in the external walls except usually a small contracted doorway. The walls were enormously thick, and con-

tained galleries or chambered spaces sometimes with ascending spiral stairways. From three to four score of these towers have been traced in the Shetlands; about an equal number in Orkney; a like number in Caithness, Sutherland, and the Western Isles respectively, bringing up the total to over 350. The invading Norsemen, we know from the Sagas, found many a 'borg' standing when they established themselves in these northern parts of Albyn. But we have no written record of the people or race who built the towers: the only clue to what manner of folk they were is to be sought in the relics found within the buildings. The borg-dwellers used rude pottery, and 'there is abundant evidence,' says Anderson, 'that they were not only expert hunters and fishers, but that they kept flocks and herds, grew grain and ground it by handmill, practised the arts of spinning and weaving, had ornaments of gold of curious workmanship and were not unskilled workers in bronze and iron.'* It has been usual to conjecture them as the aboriginal Picts or Celts of the country, for lack of any certain information.

Leaving Clickhimin, we pass first the head of the Voe of Sound, a tidal water famous for its autumnal sea-trout fishing, and next two lonely lochs buried in dark peat mosses. Then at the 'Hollander's Knowe' the road leaves the highway to Scalloway, making a sharp turn, and in another mile or so we are abreast of the Bay of Gulberwick. Some spot in or near this picturesque inlet was the scene in the twelfth century of one of those stirring incidents—in this case a shipwreck—which the old Sagas are given to record with such vividness and circumstantiality. In our Orkney excursions, it will be remembered, the personality of a mighty Jarl of the Nordreys, Rögnvald Kali, came conspicuously to the front. He it was who brought over a crusading band from Norway, and spent a winter in the Orkneys *en route* to Jörsalaland.

It was while this expedition was being organised in Norway that Earl Rögnvald set out thence homeward bound for the Orkneys, intending to pass two winters there. The Norwegian King, Ingi, to speed him on his voyage, gave Rögnvald two

* *Orkney Saga*, Introd., p. cx.

longships, small but swift and very beautiful. Of these one named *Fífa* was assigned to the Earl's young kinsman, Jarl Harald: the other, the *Hjálp*, Earl Rögnvald reserved for himself. In these vessels on a certain Tuesday night the two Earls put to sea, holding westward with a fair wind. 'But on the day following,' says the Saga, 'there was a great storm, and in the evening they saw land.' It was very dark, and breakers beset them on all sides; insomuch that there was no choice but to run the ships ashore, which they did on a narrow and strong beach engirt with crags. All hands on board were saved, but great part of their stores were lost, though some afterwards washed up as wreckage. Through all the turmoil and peril Earl Rögnvald was very blithe, and heartened up his crews by singing snatches of Scaldic song. The Earl sent off a dozen of his men to Einar of Gulberwick to crave shelter, and meanwhile the shipwrecked Norsemen distributed themselves among the neighbouring farmsteads. Rögnvald lived a long time in Hjaltland after this untoward mishap, and then fared on to his Orkney dominions, whence he returned to Norway to make his final preparations at Bergen for the crusading voyage to the East.

A little further along our route are two more Pictish Towers, one on the lonely lake of Brindister, the other on a projecting cape known as the Brough of Burland: and next we descend on the church and hamlet of Quarff. Here the peninsula of Dunrossness narrows to less than two miles' width, and a valley runs across it from sea to sea, connecting the East and West Voes of the parish. The advantages of this natural hollow traversing the isthmus suggest themselves in the place-name Quarff, which I believe is in Norse 'Hvarp' (Warp), the equivalent of the *Tarbert*, or *Tarbet*, of Celtic Scotland; where boats and small vessels could be *warped*, towed, or dragged along overland upon rollers between the shores of two separate waters. The Norsemen were well up to this kind of work. King Magnus Berfœttr accomplished it at Tarbert [*Tara-bart*, draw-boat] in Loch Fyne eight centuries back. So did royal Hakon in 1263, when, transporting some of his fleet from the ocean at Arrochar in Loch Long, he re-launched them at Tarbet in Loch Lomond, and was able to ravage its beautiful shores and to scourge the

Colquhoun country with impunity. Here at Quarff, for vessels hailing from Lerwick on the eastern side of Hjaltland and bound for Scalloway or the havens on the western side, the short-cut across Quarff isthmus would not only save some fifty miles of coasting, but also avoid the risks and rampage of the tides of the terrible Dynröst.

Proceeding—with magnificent vistas of cliff, headland and ocean expanse both near and far, notably the southern crags of Bressay,—we pass Fladdabister, and reach the tract of Cunningsburgh, whose native habitants are said to be of ancient British descent—Pictish or Celtic rather than Norse—and to have lacked the islanders' customary virtue of hospitality. The long promontory of Helli Ness, screening its *taing*, *holm*, and skerry, stretches away to our left; and, passing another ruined *brough* at Mail and the site of an ancient Celtic church of St. Columba, we sight at the far-end of the deep bay abreast of us the island of Mousa, and the ruin of its famed tower standing dark and solitary by the water's edge. Soon we round a little rocky inlet (Wick of Sandsayre), and drop down upon a cluster of cottages and a pier, near to which is Sand Lodge, the residence of a member of the present ruling family in Dunrossness. Here it is necessary to obtain permission to visit the isle of Mousa, a permission given as a matter of course to any respectable stranger, and accompanied in my own case with much courtesy, assistance, and friendly hospitality. The Sound of Mousa, the passage betwixt the island and mainland, is perhaps three quarters of a mile wide; but if one takes boat across from Sand Lodge pier as I did, and makes straight for the 'Castle of Mousa,' the distance comes to near about two miles.

The *borg*, or 'Castle' (so-called) of Mousa, is perhaps the most perfect and typical example of its class extant. There is one among a small group of these Picts' Towers surviving in a valley of Glenelg, Inverness-shire, which for completeness and preservation [when I saw it three or four and twenty years ago] would rank as a good second to Mousa.* But Mousa has the

* See a detailed account of the Glenelg *brochs* with woodcut in I think the third of a series of illustrated articles contributed by the present writer to *Good Words* (May to September, 1874.), entitled 'On the West Coast.'

superior reputation, and, from its having more than once figured in historic times, has secured an interest such as to make it the premier antiquity of Shetland, or very much what Maeshowe among the chambered tumuli is in relation to the Orkney Isles.

The tower of Mousa stands over 40 feet high, and consists of a ring or circular wall of masonry enclosing a small internal area or court of about 10 yards diameter. The ring-wall is of immense thickness, and is hollowed inside into a number of galleries built one over the other in tiers by means of horizontal cross-slabs, these slabs serving also to bond the masonry of the wall. A rude stone stairway ascending spirally within the wall connects the galleries, and there are openings here and there from the galleries into the court, doubtless to provide light and ventilation. On the ground level three small oval-shaped and domed cells or chambers are built in the thickness of the wall next the court, and are entered from it. Whether the tower was originally roofed in or not is uncertain; the court is now open to the sky. Altogether, this structure has a singular and primeval aspect, and its tapering yet partially bulging profile, as seen from the outside, with no external aperture except the entrance doorway, heighten the impression of its strangeness and antiquity. And then the utter desolateness of the spot, situated as the tower is on the very verge of the fissured and surf-lashed rocks of this tiny islet.

The tower or 'Castle' of Mousa (Moseyjar-borg) figures twice in the Norse Sagas; and, curiously, in both cases, the incidents related in connection with it are the old, old story—elopements. The earlier record occurs in the Saga of Egill Skallagrímson, the warrior-poet, and refers to a period about A.D. 900.* A certain Björn Brynulfson cast eyes on the daughter of Thora Roald, and, for that his sire was obdurate and refused sanction to their marriage, the lovers fled away from Norway oversea, and were shipwrecked on Mousa Isle. Björn managed to get his cargo safe to land, and in this forlorn tower he and his love celebrated their union, passing the winter here; thereafter they escaped to Iceland. Thus, even at this early date of Björn's coming to Mousa the *borg* was apparently deserted.

* *Orkney Saga* (Anderson), *Introd.*, p. cxi.

The other Saga-story associated with Mousa sets forth how Jarl Harald (Maddadson), wroth with Erlend Ungi for daring to woo his (Harald's) widowed mother Margaret, sought to slay Erlend: how Erlend collected men and carried off Margaret from Orkney to Hjaltland, making for Mousa: how he, the lady, and his followers, ensconced themselves in the *borg*; how he made preparations for its defence. Earl Harald pursued the fugitives and blockaded Moseyjar-borg, but found it a tough nut to crack. Then followed negotiations which ended in a reconciliation, and Erlend Ungi was allowed to wed the Earl's mother and become his man.*

Just opposite Mousa, on the mainland, at the point of Hoga in Burra-land, another *burgh* can be traced; and beyond this juts out the curious peninsula of 'No-Ness,' caverned, and at one spot tunnelled through by a subterranean passage, and having a Lilliputian lake at its extremity.

Returning to Sandwick, we have a singularly wild bit of country to traverse *en route* to Spiggie. A narrow road winds about till we reach the Bay of Channerwick, and here two ways part, one route keeping to the east side of the long dorsal ridge of the peninsula from Gord Hill to Ward of Scousburgh, the other crossing the ridge and skirting its western slopes. The latter was the route I took, and it has the advantage of opening up a perfect panorama of the majestic western cliffs of Dunrossness, and bringing into view below you the fine crags and green downs of St. Ninian's Isle, a spot of very remote and saintly traditions. A narrow elongated mole or spit of seabeach connects this little isle with the mainland. Vestiges of the ancient church with its burial-ground and Holy Well are still visible, and a walk round the island reveals along its sea-marge a wonderful series of detached holms, rock-stacks, caverns, and a fine natural archway.

A whole chapter of *The Pirate* is devoted to this highly venerated ruin—'the haunted kirk of St. Ringan' as Swertha styled it—which in Scott's time was evidently half-buried in sand-drift. Here, he tells us, 'the rude and ignorant fishermen

* *Orkney Saga*, Chap., xcii.

of Dunrossness' were wont to come with offerings they had vowed to the saint, and drop them in at the little lancet window. Within the sacred walls passing seafarers at times would see by night phantom lights foreboding wrecks and disaster. And to this weird spot came the elder Mertoun to consult Norna, and inside the old churchyard he found 'the dame of doubt and dread' chanting incantations over the tomb of an ancestral warrior.

It is something of a surprise to meet with the renowned hermit-saint of Whithorn and 'Candida Casa' in this boreal outpost of the British Isles. Yet that the halo of his name spread to these remote northern parts of Alban is evidenced by dedications to St. Ninian or Ringan, at Rinansey and South Ronaldsay in Orkney, in Sutherland, in Caithness, and here in Zetland. Traces, too, of other Scoto-Irish missionary apostles are still found in religious sites scattered throughout the Orkney-Shetland archipelago: and there were probably many more such sites now lost to us. For, from the notices of former writers as Jo Ben, Hibbert, Low, Brand, Sibbald, and others, it is certain that ancient Christian foundations abounded in Hjaltland. As late as the last century, the three northernmost of the Zetland isles, Unst, Yell, and Fetlar, possessed among them no less than five and fifty recognisable remnants of churches or chapels.* The conclusion generally accepted respecting these commemorative Catholic sites is that we are to recognise in the Nordreys two distinct strains or national currents: (1) the Celtic element in the plantations of the Scoto-Hibernian anchorites, these probably being the earlier in date, and (2) the Scandinavian element with an after-tinge from the crusading fervour as seen in votive ascriptions of churches to St. Olaf, St. Magnus, St. Peter, St. John, Holy Cross, etc., etc.

A couple of miles beyond St. Ninian's Isle bring us to the beautiful Bay of Scousburgh. Then, passing the little cluster of cottages similarly named, we mount the final hill of the journey, and, descending a by-road, arrive at our destination;—a long low range of buildings with shop and farm-steading

* See *Ork. Saga* (Anderson)—*Introd.*, p. xv.

attached, looking out over the fine Loch of Spiggie and away across it to the uplands of Fitful Head.

'How refreshing,' wrote Edward Fitzgerald to Fanny Kemble of one of Scott's novels, 'is the leisurely easy movement of the story, with its true and well harmonised variety of scene and character.' Much the same may be said of *The Pirate*, but perhaps what one notes most in that romantic story is the singular fidelity with which the great master has caught and limned for us the sombre colouring, fantastic forms, changeful moods, and strange underlying mystery withal, of Nature's architecture in Hjaltland. What, for example, could better bring before us the impressive grandeur and twilight hyemal gloom of the seascape than this description of the scenery of Dunrossness, in which Mordaunt Mertoun passed his later boyhood. 'Precipices and headlands, many hundred feet in height—amid perilous straits and currents and eddies—long sunken reefs of rock, over which the vivid ocean foams and boils—dark caverns to whose extremities neither man nor skiff has ever ventured—lonely and often uninhabited isles—and occasionally the ruins of ancient northern fastnesses dimly seen by the feeble light of the Arctic winter.' Or, again, Minna Troil's weatherwise warnings to Mordaunt before the great storm. 'Oh, the morning mist lies heavy upon yonder chain of isles. . . . The fowl are winging their way to the shore and the sheldrake seems, through the mist, as large as the scart. See the very sheerwaters and bonxies (skua gulls) are making to the cliffs for shelter.' And how wonderfully in touch and harmony with the character of this peculiar scenery is the figure of Minna. She loved Hjaltland: her spirit rose to its inward charm: 'the love of natural objects was to her a passion.' In Sir Walter's time sentiment and romantic imaginings had not been killed out of the Minnas and Brendas of the social circle by the brusque deportment and tomboy diversions of the modern mannish matter-of-fact young woman, who has neither leisure nor palate for much else than the latest phases and crazes of fashionable excitement.

So, then, at Spiggie—with Sumburgh Cape and Fitful Head each within the compass of an easy day's walk—we seem to feel we have reached the main arena of the 'Great Unknown's'

story, and can pursue our rambles round the cliffs with an intenser interest.

To reach Fitful Head from the Spiggie domicile, it is best to get down at once to the seashore and climb the slopes of Fora Ness, making for the edge of the cliffs, which are full of indentations, each revealing in succession a new picture. From one of the *gios* here there is an especially grand view, worth a day's walk for itself, looking towards the great rock-stack of Gray Noup and the 'Nev' of Fitful Head beyond. One immense slanting rock-shelf here with a fairly even surface was simply alive with disturbed gulls hovering and screaming in mid-air: and a curious thing I noticed was their shadows projected on the cliff-face in the bright sunshine, giving the effect of dark phantom duplicates of the birds flitting about. The whole way on is an ascent, round the Wick of Shanni, along the precipices of the 'Windy Stacks' and past 'Rushy Cups,' till the summit of the Head, a line of lofty clifted steepes two miles long, is attained, 928 feet above the sea. A spot frightfully exposed to all the winds of heaven, bare, stern-faced, desolate, and, meteorologically speaking, eminently *fitful*. Truly a congenial haunt for the 'Reim-kennar' and witch-seer, Norna. A long spur, Siggarr Ness, garnished with stacks and skerries, sticks out from the southern extremity of Fitful Head, and another very bold scarped promontory, Garths Ness, interposes before we arrive at the fine sheltered Bay of Quendale.

It was to this bay that the shipwrecked Spaniards from Fair Isle were conveyed, and here they were lodged awhile and hospitality treated by a Zetland odaller till passage for France could be got for them. And into this inlet, we are told, some fifty years since, a prodigious shoal of whales numbering many hundreds was driven and captured in two or three hours. I remember a visit to this charmingly situated bay on a certain first of July. The day was one of brilliant sunshine, and a delicious little sandy nook, shut in by rock ledges baked hot under the solar rays, tempted one to bathe. But the sea-water was intensely cold, rather surprisingly so considering the air temperature and time of year. I had no towel, but was very soon sun-dried.

For Sumburgh Head another day should be reserved. The conformation of the peninsula of Dunrossness, it may here be observed, is not unlike that of Italy: a long boot with a toe and heel. The heel is Fitful Head with its backing of hill slopes. The toe is the cape of Sumburgh, with an offshooting spur or prong, Scatness.

From Spiggie, one's way to Sumburgh is to get round the Loch of Brow, and strike the highway near the parish church. The road then runs about due south two or three miles, crossing the Ward Hill, till the little inlet, Virkie Pool, where the toe narrows to an isthmus, is reached. Here the road forks, one branch conducting to Scatness, the other continuing across the 'Links of Sumburgh,' towards the bluff promontory which is the main objective of our walk. These 'links' are a delightful breezy stretch of low heathy sandhills, clothed with short crisp turf of velvety verdure interspersed in the floweret season with king-cups and large patches of the golden sweet-scented cypripedium (lady's slipper). The exquisite green and aureate tints of this heath in early summer contrast charmingly with the grey background of Sumburgh Head and with the dun hues of the bare scrub wastes we have been hitherto traversing. The links draw in to a low flat neck enclosed between two sea-inlets. One is the creek named Grubness Voe, a great depot for fish-curing: the other on the western side is the Voe of Sumburgh.

It is on the shore of this latter bay that the old mansion-house of Jarlshof is situated, in which the moody misanthrope of Scott's romance, Basil Mertoun, took up his abode and led the life of a recluse, far away in sooth 'from the madding crowd.' The building is now a roofless and deserted ruin, but it may originally with adjunct offices have been a domicile of respectable size. It appears to have been erected by one of the later Orkney Earls. Close by is the fine modern residence, Sumburgh House, of the proprietor of a large tract of the adjoining country, its garden wall at one corner scarce half-a-dozen yards from the sea-beach.

For a description of the Sumburgh headland, it would be hard to better Sir Walter Scott's. 'A cliff of immense height, which presents its bare scalp and naked sides to the weight of a

tremendous surge. . . . This lofty promontory is constantly exposed to the current of a strong and furious tide. . . . On the land side the promontory is covered with short grass and slopes steeply down to a little isthmus, upon which the sea has encroached in creeks.' The isthmus and creeks are the heathy neck and voes I have just referred to: and, as the great novelist accurately observes, the encroachment of the sea on either side at the neck will probably in the lapse of time altogether insulate the rocky mount itself, 'when what is now a Cape will become a lonely mountain islet severed from the mainland.' The eastern side of the mount is composed of enormous smooth slabs or layers of grey sandstone (called by Scott 'sand-flag') sloping or 'dipping' down to seaward; and these slabs, crumbling away and becoming detached, lie in loose masses along the hillside and can be slid down with the foot:—a desolate chaos of rock-debris.

Here it was that the Mertouns, father and son, climbed the day after the tempest, and stood contemplating the tumultuous heaving waters of the Roost. How vividly the scene is borne in upon us. The sighting of the dismantled vessel, the generous impulse of the young Mordaunt to rush down the cliff and save the wrecked mariner, the inrush and smash-up of the hulk on the rocks, the rescue of the pirate, the approach of the merciless wreckers, for, as the old harpy Swertha put it, in these isles a ship ashore was 'a sight to wile the minister out of his very pu'pit in the middle of his preaching, muckle mair a puir auld ignorant wife frae her rock and her tow!'

More Pictish towers. Yonder, at the extreme point of Scatness was a *brough*, as we might infer from the designation of the spot, 'Ness of Burgi.' Higher up the coast is another, which has given its name to an adjacent islet; and further on, near Boddam, yet another of these strongholds, looking out upon caves, and over a 'Stack of the Brough' on the seashore below.

On the extremity of Sumburgh Cape is a fine lighthouse, which I shall ever remember as seen long while from steamer-deck brilliantly flaming out on a certain dark autumnal night, in a heavy gale, with the Roost running 'mountains high.'

Besides the large loch of Spiggie, there is another smaller one quite close to it, the Loch of Brow (*Brough* again, evidently).

The trout-fishing in the former is disappointing. So demoralised have the fish in it become from the use of indiscriminate and unsportsmanlike lures, that now they can hardly be got to look at a fly, nor does the artificial minnow seem to be much good. A common practice is to bait with a lump of herring, and an old Spiggie man told me he once in autumn time impaled on his hook a mouse he had caught in a trap, and with this uncanny morsel captured a trout over a pound weight. The fisherman, however, so they said, may do better sometimes on the water of Brow, where the trout, though not running so large as on Spiggie lake, take the fly more readily.

Dunrossness is the haunt of many wild birds of comparative rarity in our islands. In the desolate cliffs of Fitful Head the peregrine falcon still nests and breeds: and an occasional pair as late as 1894 were known to frequent the cragged cape of Sumburgh. Merlin are occasionally shot in these parts. The owl—a long-eared greyish variety—is met with, of which I was shown a fine stuffed specimen shot not long since. On the loch of Spiggie the osprey has been seen on rare occasions, generally pursued and screeched at by innumerable seagulls. In the rock-scarped islet of Colsay the eider-duck breeds. And here too the raven has his habitat, more mischievous depredator even than his brother, the hooded crow, particularly at nesting time in spring when his young have to be fed. The inroads made by the ravens on the cottagers' poultry, is serious. Mr. H—— told me of one that had actually pounced on a full-grown duck in his yard, and had made off with it some distance before he was shot.

The first time I visited Dunrossness, one of those Shetland sea-fogs already spoken of hung over everything

'Like the dun wimple of a new-made widow,'

and continued without break the two or three days I was able to remain at Spiggie. Thus I had to leave without even a glimpse of Fitful Head or the cliffs adjoining. Two years before a weather experience of a different kind though equally aggravating had befallen a German artist, who had come to Spiggie to paint a stormy sea for a picture of the Saviour in the tempest on the

lake of Galilee. The poor man passed in fruitless expectancy three weeks of uninterrupted fair calm weather, and then departed in despair: the Spiggie fishermen declaring they would they could have him always with them!

A curious and distinctive feature of the Zetland landscape is the prevalence of the little walled enclosures, or 'plantie cruives,' along the hillsides. They are really small vegetable gardens or kailyards, which by Shetland custom any cottar may reclaim for himself from the bleak heathland wastes so common and extensive in Hjaltland. The dry-stone wall built round these plots is absolutely necessary to shelter them from the piercing winds which sweep over the bare wolds. You see them in all parts of the Shetland Isles; and, looking across a wide stretch of country, the new-comer wonders what on earth these high-walled structures can be, scattered promiscuously about in such numbers.

Unless prevented by fogs or stress of weather, the steamer plying between Stromness and Scalloway calls in about bi-monthly off Spiggie going northward. This gives an alternative route whereby to get back to Lerwick, or proceed on to the further parts of Shetland. Going this way, one has fine views of the cliffs, fiords, and outlying isles along the western side of the mainland (Meginland). Among these latter, the two Burras which shut in Clift Sound are the largest and most interesting; West Burra being generally accepted as the *locus* of Magnus Troil's mansion-house, Burgh Westra. From here Minna in the story could spy the distant heights of Fitful Head: and here in the old mansion we can picture Eric Scambester on convivial occasions launching his master's huge punch-bowl loaded with a full cargo of 'good Nantz, Jamaica sugar, and Portugal lemons.'

At the extreme north-end of Clift Sound is Scalloway (Skalavag, bay of the *skali*), a cluster of houses grouped round a little voe or inlet, which forms a sheltered harbour. As one steams up alongside the pier, the ruined old castle built by a dreaded and rapacious Earl of Orkney, Patrick Stewart, is seen close by rearing its head above the intervening town buildings. This castle is of the usual sixteenth century Scottish type and, though much plainer and smaller, is not unlike in style to the Palace at Kirkwall erected by the same noble. It has small projecting angle-

tourelles, finished off below with ornamental corbelling. Over the main doorway of the castle is a stone escutcheon with the inscription, 'Patricius Orcadiæ et Zetlandiæ comes,' and a Latin couplet; and high up in the wall flanking this doorway may be seen an iron ring attached to a pinnacle of the masonry. This ring served the purpose of a gallows, and is so placed that, when a man was hoisted up and hanged by a rope reeved through it, his body would dangle just in front of the doorway and window above it. On the other side of the building, also high up near the eaves, a small lancet aperture, almost invisible from below, is pointed out as the airlet to a secret chamber, in which Earl Patrick lay hid when under arraignment for sundry high crimes and misdemeanours. The story goes that a posse of the King's men who were in pursuit of the Earl had unsuccessfully searched the castle in quest of him, and were on the point of departure, when some one of the company, scanning the battlements from below, espied a faint curl of smoke escaping from the tiny aperture in the wall. The smoke came from the fugitive's tobacco pipe, and, the search being renewed, the obnoxious Earl was captured and afterwards executed.

There are a few oldish dwelling-houses in Scalloway. Above the entrance doorway of one I noted a scutcheon with the date 1755, and a quaint motto, 'Tace aut Face,' over the names James Scott and Katharine Sinclair.

As at Stromness in Orkney, an enormous herring fishery trade is done at Scalloway. During the season it is a sight to see the quays. The usual practice here is to assort the fish going to market into three classes, the rest of the herrings not good enough for classification being thrown aside for manure.

An ancient usage prevalent in the Farøe Isles is said to be still traceable as a survival in Hjaltland. This is the winter custom of what is called going 'hussamillie,' that is, between or among the houses. The term appears to be in frequent use throughout Zetland as well as in Farøe. 'After dinner and a thorough 'wash and brush-up they' [the Farøe folk] 'go hussamillie. All the young people gather into a house or two, the women bring their knitting, and the men their wheels and cards.' Then they dance, etc., 'High and low are socially equal: all go

hussamillie, and all mingle together on equal terms. In Shetland, it is said, there are two classes, an upper and a lower, but no middle class.* After all, there is something commendable in the idea of this Arcadian simplicity, fraternity, or whatever we may style it. And from my own observation of the Zetland people, I should judge such a custom to be exactly in accord with their forthright sympathetic manners, which, especially when coming from women to men, are so attractive.

The limitations of space are such that I must hurry over what remains of the Shetlands with few words.

From Scalloway a charming trip may be made to the north-western regions of Zetland, round by Papa Stour and across the spacious bay of St. Magnus to Hillswick. The whole journey is a vision of strange rock-shapes, fissured precipices, and wave-washed islets, grouped in such sort that, if Hjaltland is not the 'Ultima Thule,' it might well pass for it. The mere names of the coast features in themselves carry a suggestion of darksome sea-alleys and gloomy grotts—vestibules, it might be, of Erebus—haunted by an under-world of hyperborean mermen and marine monsters; spots where, in the words of the classic singer, 'the seas dashed upon the rocks re-echo.'

Especially striking is the stretch of coast-line betwixt the Sounds of Vaila and Papa. On the islet of Vaila a great rock-stack stands up like a ruined castle-tower of old; and from Watsness to Quilva Taing is a majestic chaos of nature's battlements breached and riven into ragged buttresses and pinnacles by the never-ceasing assaults of the tremendous surge. The sea-margin of Papa Stour isle itself is a marvel of indented notches—creeks or voes where the furious tides have eaten their way far into the island core. Here, too, are caves, natural arches, subterraneous rock-tunnels, skerries in numbers. Then, rounding the corner of Sandness and holding north-east, we can just sight over yonder the deep-embayed inlet which terminates in West Burra Firth, or Borgarfjord [fjord of the Borg]. Near here stood the Pictish Tower whence the Norsemen gave its name to

* See an interesting account of this primitive custom in *The Scotsman* of 5th July, 1894.

the spot; and where, the Orkneyinga Saga tells us, Jarls Magnus and Hakon in their earlier days of amity slew a famous chieftain, Thorbiörn.

The approach to Hillswick, the tourist's portal to Northmaven, is characteristically Zetlandish. The steamer passes up Ura Fiord, a long, narrow, and perfectly sheltered haven: and brings to in the little off-shooting loop or *vik*, where a few houses, sheds, and fishing craft cluster together along a low isthmus. Behind and across this isthmus, a grand vista of lofty cliffs, the 'Heads of Grocken,' are seen looming up in retreating perspective. As for this strange outlying northern region of Northmaven—all but severed from the mainland isle, for the connecting ligature at Ellwick scarcely exceeds fifty yards in width—its broken coast-line is reckoned perhaps the wildest and most diversified in all Shetland, and that is indeed saying much. But to do these labyrinthine sea-shores justice would be to write another article: and so we must borrow a rhyme from the poet-fictionist, and say with Claud Halcro,

'Farewell to Northmaven,
Grey Hillswicke farewell!
To the calms of thy haven
The storms on thy fell.'

As for Foula, solitary and remote, planted like Fair Isle leagues away from the main Zetland group, it is a spot hard to get at, but wondrous worth seeing. For are there not its sites of ancient church, Picts' House, and burial mounds; its lofty summit-ridge, 'the Sneug;' the adamantine fantastically-shaped wall of cliffs between the Hævdi capes and on to the Wick of Helliberg, facing out to the golden sunset; and the marvel of superabundant bird-life which makes this island-fastness its home?

It still remains to devote a word to the north group of the Hjaltland isles. Starting from Lerwick in a coasting steamer, one skirts the eastern shores of the mainland, passing many a voe, fiord, ness, and skerry, till Whalsey is reached—an isle which still retains vestiges of its three ancient churches, *brochs* two, a Pict's house, many lakelets, and a farmhouse which bears the unsavoury name of Sodom. Leaving Whalsey to our right, we

sail through Linga Sound, sighting the 'Out Skerries,' and their lighthouse tower. Thence passing the Ness and Holm of Lunna, and opening Yell Sound [Jalasund], we stand over to Fetlar, and enter the Wick or Bay of Tresta, which, should a south-easter be blowing, will not commend itself to us as a very sheltered harbourage. This island has some interesting antiquities both prehistoric and mediæval. Of the three or four relics of the latter class, the ruined 'kirk' or chapel near the Free Church Manse is said to have been dedicated to a patron saint, whose name I cannot remember to have come across before in Scotland, though it is well known to English lawyers, St. Hilary. Great things were told me of the trout fishing in the little loch, 'Papil Water,' which nestles behind the spit of beach at the head of the Tresta Bay. And doubtless others like myself would gladly stay a few days in this interesting island to explore its treasures, if one only knew where to lodge and could make sure of catching a return steamer after a reasonable interval.

Whoso has the chance—or *mis*-chance, some might hold it—to take the voyage I have been describing in a pretty stiff half-gale [as once happened to the present writer], will best realise the ironbound character of the Shetland coast. For, as one passes now and again the vast swart rock-piles and spires lashed with white jets of sea foam, and the vessel plunges through the narrows of the sounds, quite close to a Scylla on the one hand, or a Charybdis on the other,—one begins to grasp the risks and perils of this coasting service, carried on as it is all through the long stormy darkness of the Zetland winter!

From Fetlar our steamer crosses over to the eastern shores of Yell, the largest of the Shetland isles next after the main island. As we have noted elsewhere in the Zetland archipelago, Yell island is all but cut in two at a central point where two Voes have run up into the heart of the land to within a mile of one another. It is into the eastern of these two Voes that we wend our way, entering it by a narrow passage, and passing within a stone-cast of its northern headland. Once we are inside Mid Yell Voe, the view of inlet and valley is very picturesque, not to say romantic, and conveys an absolute sense of land-locked shelter. Yell is rich in sites or ruins of

quondam Catholic churches and Pictish towers. Of the latter, there is a fine example at Burra Ness, which we pass on the way to Unst. And here it may be observed that the place-name, 'Burra,' is continually recurring all through Shetland, tacked on to firths, capes, islands, or whatever it may be, and all pointing to the near vicinity of some one or other of these archaic burghs or broughs.

Of Yell Sound (Jalasund) we hear something in the Saga of the Orkneys. One summer, in the early years of the 12th century, came Jarl Rögnvald over to Hjaltland from Norway, bringing with him two noble chieftains, Sölmund Sigurdson and Jón Pétsson, with a band of warriors and a few galleys. They reached Hjaltland about midsummer, but, strong and contrary winds springing up, they brought their ships to Jala-sund, and, being well received by the Bændr (landholders) of Yell, went feasting about the country.

Unst, the northernmost of the Shetland Isles, is separated from Yell by a narrow strait, half a mile to a mile in width. Shaping now our course north-eastward, we sight the islet of Uyea, interesting from its group of Picts' houses and its ruined chapel, which has the same special feature seen in some early Irish oratories, and in certain of the old Orkney churches. This is a doorway constructed without rebate for a door, thus suggesting, thought Sir Henry Dryden, the primitive method of closing an entrance to a building by a hide or curtain. Next we pass the Castle of Muness, of like style and date with the crumbling ruin at Scalloway, and not unlike Orkneyan Noltland. A few miles further the steamer runs in between the islands of Huney and Balta into the fine haven named after the latter, Balta Sound. Here one finds an excellent little hotel, and one or two comfortable 'pensions' to select from.

From Balta Sound, a walk of three or four miles across the intervening high ridge of Vailafield, brings you down to the western shore of Unst, overlooking the boundless Atlantic. At any point between Hevda Hill and Hagdales Nest a really marvellous panorama is obtained away round and across ocean to the far-away Gloups of Yell, but to the north, along the

Unst shore, the view is barred by the Brough of Valaberg. It is a walk and vista once seen never to be forgotten. Another delightful day's occupation is to walk or drive over to the hither extremity of the Loch of Cliff, take a boat for the day there, and row slowly over the three miles' length of this narrow and picturesque lake, with a fishing-line or two out astern. Then fish down the half-mile of rivulet which connects the loch with the sea at the head of Burra Firth. A farther walk past the site of the *brough*, which has given its name to the Firth, and on to the promontory of Hermaness, will be a good day's work. From the hill of Hermaness you look across the waters of the Burra Firth to the precipices of Saxavord. Then, to northward, the eye gazes down over the forlorn group of skerries, on one of which, Muckle Fladda, is a lighthouse, and travels on over a dark swirling surge of waters to the rocky 'Out Stack,' outmost skerry of them all, and interesting as the most northerly spot of land in the British Isles!

Saxavord, it may be noted, was a terminal station of the great meridional arc observed and computed by the staff of the Ordnance Survey of the United Kingdom. The southern terminal of the arc was at Dunnose in the Isle of Wight.

Balta Sound is associated with memories of two eminent men of science, who, in the early years of the present century, worked alongside of one another, though independently. One was M. Biot, a French *savant*, who was sent over here to make observations in connection with the length of the seconds pendulum in this latitude. The other was Captain Colby of the Royal Engineers, afterwards chief of the Ordnance Survey, who carried out work of a similar kind and with a similar object. The little island of Balta, which in ancient days had its Pictish tower and chapel, forms a natural and perfect breakwater to the sound, and here Colby and his surveyors took up their quarters.

Harolds Wick, the fine bay next-door to Balta isle, is, says tradition, the spot where in the ninth century the great Scandinavian king, Harald Harfagri, came ashore on his first expedition to Hjaltland to root out the unruly Vikings, and take the islands for himself.

'I do not,' says Virgil in one of his Georgics, 'hope to include all things in my verses, not if I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, and a voice of iron.' Nor does the present writer pretend to have done more than offer here a representative selection from the abundant store of interesting material that appertains to Hjaltland. As the topmost boughs of a tree yield the finest blooms and fruit, so will the tourist often have to go afar for the scenes and regions best worth seeking. And if these few pages shall have satisfied the reader that there is treasure-trove in remote Hjaltland well worth searching for, they will have served their purpose.

T. PILKINGTON WHITE.

ART. II.—SERAPIS—A STUDY IN RELIGIONS.

THE Egypt which you so praised to me, my dearest Ser-
vian!' wrote the Emperor Hadrian to his brother-in-
law, 'I have learned to be thoroughly false, fickle, and swayed
by every breath of rumour. Those who worship Serapis are
Christians; and those who call themselves bishops of Christ
are vowed to Serapis. There is there no ruler of the Jewish
synagogue, no Samaritan, no priest of the Christians, who is
not an astrologer, a diviner, and a charlatan. The very pa-
triarch, when he comes to Egypt, is compelled by some to adore
Serapis; by others, Christ. ' The language of
the Imperial writer was perhaps a little exaggerated, for the
Alexandrians about whom he was writing had done their best
to provoke a ruler even of his statesmanlike temper. As he
tells us in the same letter, he had during his stay in their city
renewed their privileges, granted them new ones, and showered
benefits upon them, to be repaid as soon as his back was turned
by lampoons upon himself, his adopted son Verus, and his fa-
vourite Antinous. Yet the Alexandrians probably knew with
whom they were dealing. Had they shown as much levity
towards his predecessor, Nero, it might have proved so con-

genial to that vain and hysterical nature as to confirm him in his desire to transfer his household, with its cruelties and intrigues, to the mouth of the Nile. Had they chosen one of his half-barbarian successors as the theme of their jests he might have massacred half the town, as the savage Caracalla afterwards did for much the same reason. But the *dilettante* Hadrian, though capable of awful severity when the interests of the State were in danger—as his extermination of the Jewish nation a few years later showed clearly enough—was, like our own Charles II., too cynical and perhaps too good-natured to take serious vengeance for merely verbal insults to himself. So, after declaring that the god which all the Alexandrians really worshipped was money, he concludes his letter by the wish that they may suffer no worse punishment than to be fed on their own chickens, whose incubation in a manure heap seems to have been very offensive to the Roman sense of delicacy.*

But who was this Serapis whom Hadrian found adored by Pagans and Christians alike? The answer to this question, though it takes us into some rather musty history, affords us a bird's eye view of the evolution of an ethical cult from the most primitive beginnings, which is, I believe, without parallel in the history of Religions.

To begin at the very beginning :—Some 6000 years before Christ the fertile plains between the Tigris and the Euphrates were inhabited by a people known to science as the Sumerians. They seem to have been of the Mongoloid stock, and to have resembled the modern Chinese, who are, according to writers of high authority,† to be counted among their direct heirs more closely than any other nation. Like the Chinese, they spoke an agglutinative language and shewed an amazing aptitude for the material side of civilisation; while even at the early

* The letter is given in the Saturninus of Fl. Vopiscus (*Hist. Aug. Script.*, VI., *Lugd. Bat.*, 1671, II. pp. 718-780). Its authenticity has been successfully defended by Bishop Lightfoot. (See *The Apostolic Fathers*, Lond. 1869, I., p. 481).

† See the review of recent works on Oriental Archaeology in the *Scottish Review* for October, 1894.

date of which we are speaking, their religion had developed from the rude Fetichism of all primitive peoples into a worship of 'great Fetiches,' or personifications of natural phenomena, presided over by a Triad consisting of the gods of the sky, the earth, and the intermediate atmosphere.* Their principal pursuit was agriculture, as was perhaps natural in a country where wheat grows wild, and from very early times they seem to have been pressed hard by the shepherd nomads of Semitic race, who poured in upon them from the neighbouring deserts. It is possible that a faint echo of this fact may be preserved in the Biblical legend of the strife between Cain, the tiller of the soil, and Abel, the keeper of sheep.†

The coming of the Semites into Mesopotamia naturally brought with it some modification of the national religion, but it is very unlikely that this involved any of the violence and bitterness with which the modern world is apt to receive any interference with its sharply-defined theologies. For, in Mesopotamia as elsewhere in the ancient world, religion was very much an affair of locality. As Apollo was worshipped at Delos, Athena at Athens, and Hera at Argos, so Anna the Sky-god was best adored at Erech, En-lilla the Air-god at Nipur, and Ea the Earth-god at Eridu.‡ Hence, on the formation of a new town, it was only necessary to raise a temple to some personification not previously possessing one, for a new god to be added to the Mesopotamian pantheon, without interfering with the privileges or exciting the jealousy of its former occupants. To such an extent was this system carried that, some seven centuries before our era, it was possible for a king of the

* For a fuller account of the Sumerian pantheon, see the article mentioned in last note.

† It was not until Semitic influence began to be felt that bloody sacrifices were offered to the gods of Mesopotamia. The earliest Sumerian inscriptions—those of the kings of Lagash—provide for offerings only 'the fruit of the ground.'

‡ All these places were situate in ancient Babylonia. Erech is the modern Warka; Nipur is still called Niffer; Eridu, once a seaport on the shores of the Persian Gulf, is now covered by the inland mounds of Abu Shahrein.

Mesopotamian country where the Semitic element was strongest to declare his belief in '65,000 great gods of heaven and earth.'*

It was no doubt in this way that a god originally came to be worshipped in the great city of Babylon, who was destined to figure more largely in the eyes of posterity than all the rest of the Mesopotamian divinities put together. This was the god Marduk or Merodach, the god of the Sun, who was worshipped there certainly as early as 4000 B.C. He was always known as the first-born of Ea, either because the Sun appears to primitive peoples to be born every day from the earth, or, as is more likely, because Babylon was itself peopled by a colony from Eridu, the seat of the earth-god's worship. It is possible, too, that the worship of Merodach may have first sprung up under Semitic influence, though this really rests upon no surer foundation than the marked fondness of the Semites for solar deities. But it was to his association with Ea that he owed his principal characteristic, which was his benevolence towards mankind. For Ea was the culture-god of the Sumerians, who had himself brought to them, according to their legends, the rudiments of all their arts and sciences. And when the air-god En-lilla tried to destroy mankind by a flood, Ea contrived to save a remnant, in exact correspondence with the story of Genesis, by shutting them up in an ark which floated over the waters.† Yet in these good offices he was far excelled by his son Merodach, 'the creator and redeemer of mankind,'‡ between whom and his father he eventually became the mediator.§ The clay tablets, inscribed with the hymns used in his worship,

* So Assur-natsir-pal. Prof. Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, p. 216), thinks that there was 'a little royal exaggeration' in the number.

† A full translation of the legend is given in Sayce's *Higher Criticism*, Lond., 1894, Chap. III.

‡ For the creation of mankind by Merodach see T. G. Pinches' *New Version of the Creation-story*, (Trans. Ninth Intern. Congress of Orientalists, Lond., 1893, II. pp. 191-192). He is called their redeemer in a text translated by Mr. Boscawen in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* (1889, IV. 11.) It seems to refer to the (Biblical) Fall of Man.

§ See Hommel's *Der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur*, München, 1892, p. 21.

a good number of which are now in the British Museum, are full of praises of his forethought for man. When Tiamat, the monster of chaos, seeks to wreck the ordered world of the gods, it is Merodach who, in spite of the horns, claws, and tail with which like the mediæval devil she is armed, overthrows and destroys her.* When the plague is in Babylon, it is Merodach who mourns over his city, and finally gets the curse transferred to Erech! And when the demons of disease or death assault any of his people, it is Merodach who, on the performance of the proper ceremonies, obtains leave from his father to pronounce the Great Name, at the sound of which all demons fly away.† Hence he is spoken of in the cuneiform texts as 'The merciful one among the gods, the merciful lord who loves to raise the dead to life.‡' 'The establisher of the lowly and the supporter of the weak,§ and by many other epithets of the same kind. Even his proper name is significant of the same qualities. It is in its extended form *Asari-uru-dugga*, 'The chief who does good to man,'|| or, to take the last two syllables, *uru-dugga*, 'The benefactor,' in later Sumerian *Mirri-dugga*, from whence the still more modern name of Merodach.

From Babylon to Egypt may seem a long step, but it is one that the worship of Merodach can now be proved to have taken. The long struggle between the Mesopotamian kingdoms and Egypt for the mastership of Western Asia must have begun before the dawn of history, and about the year 3800 B.C. we find Sargon of Accad, the hero king of Babylonia, forcing his way westward to the shores of the Mediterranean and planting his victorious standards in the island of Cyprus. So close a neighbourhood to Egypt implies some interchange of ideas, and we are therefore in some degree prepared for Professor Norman Lockyer's discovery of two years ago, that some of the Egyptian temples show considerable acquaintance on the part of their builders with the Mesopotamian calendar.

* Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 102.

† The texts on this subject are well brought together by M. Laurent in *La Magie et la Divination chez les Chaldéo-Assyriens*, Paris, 1895.

‡ Sayce *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 99.

§ *Ibid.* p. 100.

|| *Ibid.* p. 106.

But it is more surprising to learn that the best-known god worshipped by the Egyptians was but the Merodach of Babylon in a foreign dress. Yet this is the result of the researches of Professor Hommel of Munich and Mr. C. J. Ball. The name of the god whom the Egyptians called *Uasar* or *U'sir* and the Greeks Osiris has no meaning in Egyptian, but corresponds closely to *Asari*, which formed (as we have seen), the first part of the proper name of Merodach. Both have the bull as their symbol, and the resemblance is completed by the epithet *Un-nofer* or Onophris, which is almost invariably associated in Egyptian texts with the name of Osiris, this being, like *Mirri-dugga*, simply 'the benefactor.' While, as if to make all doubt impossible, it is now shown that at a date when the Sumerian script was still pictorial or ideographic instead of cuneiform, the sign for Merodach's name was identical with the hieroglyph afterwards used by the Egyptians to denote Osiris, namely, *a stool and an eye*. It seems, therefore, impossible to resist the conclusion that Osiris was not originally an Egyptian god at all, but that his worship was brought into Egypt from Babylon where he was known as Merodach.*

The worship of Osiris, however, became in Egyptian hands a very different affair from that of his Asiatic prototype. It is true that he was like Merodach, a solar deity, the son of the earth-god Seb, and the husband of his own sister Isis—two names which Dr. Hommel has identified on linguistic grounds with those of their Sumerian analogues, Ea and Istar. He was also the slayer of a serpent who seems to typify darkness. But here the parallel ends. For the national characteristics of the Egyptians differed *toto coelo* from those of the Babylonians among whom the idea of a solar god first took definite shape. The Sumerian, like the Chinese, was tenacious, practical, and ingenious; the Semite, then as now, was fierce, cruel, and greedy; but the Egyptian was, in the words of Herodotus, 'religious to excess, far beyond any other race of men.' Un-

* The Babylonian origin not only of the worship of Osiris, but also of the whole civilisation of Egypt is fully dealt with in the review mentioned in the note on p. 34.

like the Sumerian, who was by nature and inclination either an agriculturist or an artificer, or the Semite, who was a warrior or a trader, the Egyptian longed above all things to be a priest. Full of that melancholy 'which rejoiceth exceedingly and is glad when it can find the grave,' to live in a temple all day, to compose hymns to the gods, and to muse on the life to come seemed to the Egyptian the highest delight that this world had to offer.* Among such a people, the deity who in Babylon was the warrior of the gods, became a god not of the living but of the dead. The Egyptian priests taught that Osiris had once come down from heaven to rule over men, to whom he had taught all useful knowledge including the cultivation of corn and the vine; that he had been treacherously torn in pieces by his brother Set, his widow Isis wandering weeping over land and sea until she had collected and buried with pious care his mangled remains; and that his son Horus when arrived at man's estate had avenged his father, and now ruled over the world as the visible Sun, while Osiris retained the sovereignty of the underworld to which all men must go after death.† Henceforward, to the Egyptian, this life became more than ever a preparation for the next. If he could commit to memory the spells and formulas which would enable him to combat successfully the demons and monsters who would beset his path beyond the tomb; if he could ensure that after death his carefully embalmed body should be laid in a sepulchre enriched with the offerings of food and fruit, either in actual or in pictorial form, on which he might feed in the centuries to come; if he could be buried with all the ceremonies which attended the interment of the dead Osiris:—why then his double or phantom might hope to come forth from the tomb, to win its perilous way to the Hall of the Two Truths, there to make its denial of sin before Osiris as judge of the dead, and thereafter to become

* Compare the statement of Diodoros (A. 51) that the Egyptians 'called the dwelling-place of the living, guest-chambers, as we inhabit them but a short time, while the houses of the dead they name eternal mansions, because we abide in the house of Hades for a boundless age.'

† G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilisation*, Lond. 1894, p. 174-176.

identified in some not very intelligible way, with Osiris himself. But such privileges were naturally within the power of the rich alone: to the poor was held out no hope beyond the grave save of a wretched existence for a few weeks, during which the soul might wander upon the earth feeding upon filth and refuse, until complete annihilation put an end to its sufferings. Those who praise the pure ethics and spiritual character of the Egyptian religion seem to forget that its promises, like its ceremonies, concerned none but a small part of the nation who professed it.*

Let us turn now from the creeds of Asiatics and Africans to that brilliant and wonderful people to whom we are directly indebted for our science, our art, our literature, and in fact for nearly all our intellectual possessions. The religion of the Greeks was not, in its origin, very unlike those of the barbarians just noticed. In the *Iliad*, the gods preserve epithets which show that they, like the deities of Babylon and Abydos, were once merely the *fetiches* or tutelary spirits of the little communities in which their worship grew up. Aphrodite is still *Kypris*; Hera, Hera of Argos, and Apollo the god who watches over Tenedos. Even Zeus, the father of gods and men, has such local adjectives as Dodonaian appended to his august name. But these deities were, for the most part, the gods of the kings and warriors, that is to say, of the conquering Dorian race who played in Homeric Greece the part acted in England by the Normans. The rustics and peasants of Attica held fast to the worship of their native divinities, and foremost among these was Demeter, the goddess from whom they learned the art of agriculture.

The legend of Demeter has been made so familiar to us by both ancient and modern art that there can be no need to do more here than refer to it. Everyone has heard how Demeter, a personification of the earth in its smiling and beneficent aspect, bore a daughter, Persephone, whose beauty breathed desire into Hades the king of the lower regions; how he carried

* See Jequier *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès*. Paris, 1894, pp. 9-10: Maspero *Et. de Myth. and d'Arch. Egypt.* Paris, 1893, I., pp. 347-348.

her off to his gloomy abode; and how Demeter refused to allow the earth again to bring forth fruit until a treaty was arranged by which Persephone was to spend half the year with her mother above ground, and the rest with her new consort. This seems to have been in its origin a nature-myth setting forth the rude ideas of an agricultural people as to the mystery of the germination and growth of the corn sown in the earth, and it was originally portrayed in dramatic form at festivals held at particular times of the year, in the way that Mr. J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough* has shown to be common to tillers of the soil nearly all over the world. But about the year 600 B.C., a new element was introduced into these agricultural festivals of Attica by the addition of a new actor. This was the god of the vine, the Thracian Dionysos.

The first home of this god is not very clear. The old explanation of his name is that it meant 'the Zeus of Nysa,' but as nobody has been able to identify Nysa with any place known to the ancients, this does not take us much further. M. Langlois would make him out to be the Vedic god Agni-Soma, but although the myths of the two deities present many features in common, the parallel is not so close as to make it necessary to suppose any direct connection between the two. The most that we know about his origin with tolerable certainty is that the Thracian immigrants into Boeotia brought with them a god of this name, who seems to have been looked upon as the supreme god of vegetation and reproduction, from which, by a very natural association of ideas, he became the god of the underworld, and therefore the deity who presides over the life and death of man. Him Epimenides,—a wise man of Crete who had been sent for to purify Athens from the murder of Kylon and the plague which was supposed to be its consequence—introduced into the festivals of Demeter, and particularly into that prolonged one which culminated in a solemn procession from Athens to Eleusis. The secret rites celebrated on that occasion were probably already known as the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The agricultural side of these rites is fairly well known to us. They displayed the carrying-off of Persephone, the

wanderings of Demeter in her pursuit, the gift of corn to Triptolemos, the fosterling whom Demeter had taken to console her in her affliction, and the departure of the same hero in his winged car drawn by serpents to spread the knowledge of agriculture throughout the world. The part at first played in them by Dionysos is not so clear, but in any case the wave of religious thought which swept over Greece about the middle of the sixth century before Christ must have completely transformed it. For, at about this period, a sect known to us as the Orphic Brotherhood sprang up in Greece. These sectaries—it is doubtful whether they were ever formed into a regular association or not,—claimed to have an exclusive knowledge of such recondite matters as the creation of the world, the legends of the gods, and the future lot of man, special revelations as to which they professed to have found in the poems of the mythical Thracian singer Orpheus.* At first their ideas seem to have made little way but they were favoured by Peisistratos, then tyrant of Athens, and received a great accession of strength on the break up of the Pythagorean schools of Magna Graecia in B.C. 510. From that time forward, Orphic ideas permeated the whole teaching of the Mysteries, until at last Orpheus was looked upon as their founder. As Dionysos was the God whose worship formed the central point of the Orphic system, he naturally, under their influence, assumed a more important place at Eleusis. The form which his legend finally took was as follows:—Dionysos Zagreus, or 'the hunter,' was the son of the omnipotent Zeus by his virgin daughter Persephone. He was the favourite son of his father, who gave to him the kingdom of this world, and sent him upon earth to escape the jealousy of Hera. But the latter incited against him the Titans, who surprised him by a trick, tore him in pieces, and ate his flesh. The heart was saved by Athena, from which was born again the infant Dionysos, the mystic child whose birth formed one

* It is now generally admitted that the poems attributed to Orpheus were not the work of any person of that name. The earlier ones extant are nearly all by different members of the first Pythagorean school. See Abel's *Orphica*, Lips., 1885, pp. 139-140.

of the most impressive scenes of the Mysteries. Zeus destroyed the Titans with his thunderbolts, and out of their ashes men were born. But, as the Titans had swallowed the flesh of Dionysos, every man has within him a spark of the Divine nature, which is immortal. Its gradual purification is effected by successive incarnations, until at last the Dionysiac spark is free from the stains of Titanic matter, when it will again become united to the deity from whom it was violently severed. Such was the story set forth in the later form of the mystic rites, where the whole drama of the life and 'Passion' of Zagreus was enacted before the eyes of the initiate. He was also shown, as appears from many passages in the Attic dramatists, a representation of the torments of the wicked and the delights of the just in the underworld. How much of this was consciously borrowed from Egyptian teaching is very difficult to say, but it is worth while noticing that the worship of Osiris had early penetrated to Crete, from whence Epimenides the reformer of the Mysteries came, and that all Greek travellers from Herodotus to Diodoros assigned an Egyptian origin to the Eleusinian rites.*

Unfortunately for those who love a clear outline in such matters, the Orphics were not content with assigning to their own peculiar deity the most honoured place in the Greek worship. They—or at least such of them as had once been Pythagoreans—were above all things, philosophers, and had inherited much of the teaching of that Ionic School which first arrived at the truth that Nature proceeds only by fixed and immutable laws. Hence to them the stories told in the Mysteries were not historical facts, but allegories shadowing

* Theodoret, *Therapeutica*, IV. (Migne), p. 796, *sqq.*, says distinctly that the Eleusinia were brought to Greece from Egypt, and that the hierophant knew that the Passion of Zagreus referred to the murder of Osiris. In a memoir presented to the *Académie des Inscriptions* in 1893, M. Foucart, whose authority in such matters is very high, advances the same theory, and at any rate makes it clear that the Mysteries were not indigenous to Greece. Towards the end of last year the Greek Archaeological Society were said to have discovered at Eleusis proofs of the correctness of M. Foucart's theory. Details are still wanting.

forth the causes of natural phenomena. Dionysos was not for them, as for the ignorant multitude, a man who had taught his fellows the art of wine-making and had been deified for his pains: he was the Universal Soul or animating principle which the Supreme Mind had breathed into his ordered world. But as this principle was necessarily one and not several, it followed that all the gods worshipped by the multitude were but the same principle under different aspects. Thus arose the work of fusion or absorption of one god into another—*Theokrasia* the Greeks called it—which in the early Christian centuries made such wild work in the classical Olympus. Herakleitos of Ephesus, whose date may be put at 505 B.C., proclaimed openly that Hades and Dionysos were the same divinity, thus making the likeness of Dionysos, as a god of the dead, to Osiris still closer. Then Euripides identified him with the Delphic Apollo, which, as Apollo had already swallowed up the Homeric Sun-God Helios, gave to Dionysos as to Osiris a solar character.* And while Dionysos was thus identifying himself with the gods of the Homeric pantheon, Demeter was doing the same with the goddesses. The distinction between Demeter and Persephone—of the earth and the seed which she receives in her bosom—never very marked, began gradually to fade away. Then came her fusion with the mother-goddesses Rhea and Cybele on the one hand, and with the daughters of Zeus, Athena, Artemis, and Aphrodite, on the other. Dionysos thus became at once the father, the son, the brother, and the spouse of the goddess with whom his legend was linked, and this in its turn hastened his own identification with that omnipotent god of whom he was originally merely the vicegerent. Some writers even think that there are signs of an eventual fusion between Dionysos and Persephone as representing the active and passive forms of the same energy. It is not too much to say that at the time of Alexander, the educated and initiated class in Greece, among whom alone the Orphic theories had taken root, worshipped a *Deus Pantheus*, from whom all things came, and to

* Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 217.

whom all things must return. But they believed that this god manifested himself in three principal forms, which were these:—

- (1) The architect and ruler of the Universe, who was called Zeus among the living and Hades among the dead.
- (2) The female principle or receptive power of Nature, usually invoked as Aphrodite and Persephone.
- (3) The son of the two preceding, the mediator between his father and mankind, known indifferently as the infant Dionysos, Eros or Apollo.

Now it is a commonly observed phenomenon in the history of religions that a creed which seems incapable of expansion in its native country will often meet with widespread acceptance so soon as it is transplanted to a slightly different soil; and something of this kind seems to have taken place with the Orphic teaching. Its really distinctive feature—the transmigration of souls—never met with any great success in Greece. It might be sung about by poets like Pindar, or taught by philosophers like Plato; but there is no reason to think that it ever became part of the popular beliefs, while most of the learned were formally opposed to it. The Mysteries must have been the only centre from which it could be spread, and these Mysteries were not only confined to a very limited number, but were protected against profanation by terrible sanctions. But when, on the division of Alexander's Empire, Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, received Egypt as his portion, the Orphic doctrines were given an impetus that sent them all over the civilised world. For Ptolemy, carrying out it may be one of his dead master's unfulfilled plans, set about establishing in his new capital Alexandria, a mixed worship which should form a link between his Egyptian subjects and the ruling class of Greeks and Macedonians who formed the support of his throne. With this purpose he sent for Timotheos, one of the sacred family from whom the hierophants of the Mysteries were chosen, and entrusted to him and Manetho, an Egyptian priest of high rank whom he had won over to his service, the task of devising a religion which should satisfy the spiritual aspirations of Greek and Egyptian alike.

The result, which, *more hellenico*, was sanctioned in due course by the oracle at Delphi, was pretty nearly what might have been expected from the relative position of the two nations. The gods of Eleusis passed into the new religion under Egyptian names; but, though they might thus be invested with a few Egyptian attributes, they yet lost none of their own. The child-god of the Mysteries became the child Horus—in Egyptian, *Har-pa-Khrat*, of which the Greeks made Harpocrates; Demeter was called by the name of Isis, which had, perhaps, been originally hers; while her spouse, Dionysos, took that of *Osor-hapi*, or Osiris in his earthly form as the Bull Apis—for he, like Merodach and Dionysos Zagreus, was a tauriform god—corrupted by the Greeks into Sarapis, of which Serapis is the Latin form. These identifications dated from the time of Herodotus, and the Egyptian legend of the tearing in pieces of Osiris, the wanderings of Isis, and the birth of Horus so closely corresponded with the Eleusinian stories that they can hardly have required much alteration. But in all other respects the worship of Serapis was but that of the Mysteries in another and rather simpler form. The neophyte had to undergo a long and gradual initiation before he was admitted to the full knowledge of the religion; he was taught the dogma of the reincarnation of souls, which was entirely foreign to the ideas of the native faith; * and he was most plainly given to understand that the new names given to his deities did not prevent him from worshipping them in their old guise if he were so minded. All the plastic representations of the Alexandrian Triad yet found are fashioned according to the rules not of Egyptian but of Greek art. Serapis is always portrayed in them not as a bull or a mummy, as was the Egyptian Osiris, but with the lofty brow and noble features of the Greek Zeus; and 'Serapis alone is Zeus' is a watchword which is repeated with wearisome frequency on most of the monuments of the cult. As has been well said, the new god was a Greek soul dwelling in an Egyptian body.

* Sir Peter Renouf (*Hibbert Lectures for 1879*, p. 182-183) has made it clear that the Egyptians of Pharaonic times were utterly ignorant of the Greek doctrine of metempsychosis.

At first, the innovation produced little practical result. Although a few Egyptians and even some temple-servants of the lower class may have given in their adherence to the new faith, the great native priesthoods held coldly aloof from it. The priests of Memphis, where there was a native temple of Osor-hapi, allowed the king to build a Serapeion close to their own, but it is significant that the two are separated by a long avenue of sphinxes and that the Greek votive inscriptions do not include a single Egyptian name. Like the Papacy, the Memphite priesthood had seen many dynasties come and go, and they no doubt felt that Ptolemy's best policy would have been not to set up a new religion but to have managed a conversion to theirs. The event proved them right; for Epiphanes, the 5th Ptolemy, was glad enough, after the suppression of a native revolt, to be crowned like the ancient Pharaohs as the incarnate Sun-God and the descendant of Ptah, with all the ancient ritual set out upon the Rosetta Stone.* Yet, though he thus failed in his immediate purpose, Ptolemy Soter was building better than he knew. The worship of the Alexandrian gods spread wherever the Alexandrian traders went: and under his politic rule, Alexandria soon became the trading centre of the Hellenist world. The novelty-loving Athenians were so pleased with it that they soon began to use the oaths 'By Isis' and 'By Horus' in ordinary conversation—to the great wrath of the dramatists of the New Comedy. A few years later we hear of it in the cities of Boeotia, then in the islands of the Aegæan and throughout Asia Minor. And a yet wider field was now opening to it. In the early part of the second century B.C., the Alexandrian gods had established themselves in the seaports of Southern Italy frequented by foreign merchants. From thence their worship proceeded with slow but certain step towards Rome until, 80 years before our Era, it gained a foothold in the Eternal City. Thenceforth its future was assured. As early as the days of the First Triumvirs, one of the proscribed could find no disguise so little likely to attract attention in the streets of Rome as

* See Revillout, *Revue Archéologique*, 1887, pp. 339-340.

the linen robe of a priest of Isis, and under Nero the worship of Serapis and Isis was formally recognised by the State. From that time, they marched with the Roman legions into every corner of the Empire, and their monuments have been found in France, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, and even in countries so far from the first seat of the cult as Morocco, Spain, and Great Britain. Ptolemy's gods, like Ptolemy's master, might have boasted that they had conquered the whole world.*

For some time, it must have seemed as if their kingdom would have no end. The philosophers who were once, perhaps, the worst enemies of the mystic rites, now gave them their support. Stoicism, which for some centuries was fashionable at Rome, taught like the Orphics that all the gods were interchangeable forms of the same energy. The Pythagorean school was also revived, and renewed the forgery of Orphic verses, while they discovered hidden meanings in the Mysteries which must have astonished no one so much as their fellow-initiates. Nor did the worship of the stranger gods who during the first three centuries poured into Rome, do much to damage the credit of the Alexandrian divinities. True to the system of 'Theokrasia' which had given them birth, they hastened to assimilate to themselves almost every deity of the ever increasing pantheon. 'The Phrygians, first-born of men,' says the goddess of Apuleius', romance to her votary 'call me Pessinuntica, mother of the gods; the natives of Attica, Cecropian Minerva; the wave-rocked Cyprians, Paphian Venus; the arrow-bearing Cretans, Diana Dictynna; the three-tongued Sicilians, Stygian Proserpine; the Eleusinians, the ancient goddess Ceres; some Juno, some Bellona, others Hecate, others again Rhamnusia; but those who are lightened by the first rays of the nascent Sun-God, the Ethiopians, the Aarii, and the Egyptians skilled in the ancient teaching, worshipping me with ceremonies peculiar to me alone, call me by my true name, Queen Isis.' And in this

* G. Lafaye *Les Divinités d'Alexandrie hors l'Egypte*, Paris, 1884, Chaps. I., II., and VIII.

readiness to coalesce with other deities, Serapis was no whit behind his sister and spouse. The Syrian Adonis was confounded with him, and the Thessalian Esculapius, and even the half-Persian god Mithras. It seems as if the worship of any foreign divinity had only to become popular to find a place in his temple.

Does this explain Hadrian's statement that the Alexandrians worshipped at the same time Serapis and Christ? The thing is not at first sight impossible, for at Alexandria eclecticism was in the air. Even the Jews had so far yielded to the influence of the place that in Tiberius' time Philo, one of the most eminent among them, had put forth a compound of the Platonic philosophy and Judaism, which, if not very Greek, was at any rate as far removed as possible from the faith of the Hebrew Prophets. And the Christianity of Alexandria was never distinguished for its orthodoxy, but seems to have grown out of that strange faith which we call, for want of a better name, Gnosticism. Now one of the principal tenets of the Gnostics was that it was permissible for them to profess any outward religion that they pleased, so long as they held fast the knowledge of the magical formulas and ceremonies which were supposed to give them predominance in the next world. We know also from Hippolytus that some of the Gnostics were particularly fond of frequenting the Mysteries of Isis and her numerous analogues, of which Mysteries they declared that they alone were capable of penetrating the true meaning. Hence it is possible that Hadrian, who was extremely inquisitive in all matters relating to religion, may really have come across some heretical sect who did combine the worship of Serapis with the belief in the divine mission of Jesus. But against this there is one fact which seems fatal. Christianity was not like Judaism, a *religio licita* in the Roman Empire, and we may be quite sure that Hadrian would never have alluded to a Christian 'Patriarch,' or have known anything of the doings of such an officer had he been in existence. For the educated class at Rome were in complete real or affected ignorance of the true position of the Christians, whom they constantly confused with the Jews. It is therefore probable that the patriarch referred

to is some Jewish functionary—perhaps the ethnarch himself—and that Hadrian, who is credited in the traditions of the Rabbis with a prolonged enquiry into their faith, had failed to grasp the distinction between the First and the Second Persons of the Trinity. If it be objected to this that the Jews were too constant to their creed to bow the knee in the temple of Serapis, I can only reply that the author of the treatise on Isis and Osiris which passes under the name of Plutarch, formally accuses them of trying to introduce Jewish history into the legend of these gods, that they attempted to identify Serapis with (of all people in the world) the Joseph of Exodus, and that those Sibylline Verses which are most plainly the work of Alexandrian Jews, treat Serapis and Isis with marked tenderness. There is therefore no reason to suppose that the Jewish ethnarch—if it be he who is meant—would be more squeamish in such a matter than others of his co-religionists.

But whatever was the real faith of Hadrian's eclectics, it was to the zeal of a party among the Christians that the Alexandrian gods owed their final overthrow. The severity with which Diocletian in 296 suppressed the rebellion of Egypt under Achilleus rather than any nobler motive, led to the conversion of the native Egyptians *en masse*; and the persecution which followed six years later proved too short to shake their adhesion to the creed with which the Roman Emperors were at war. A great factor in this steadfastness was the institution of monachism, which was, perhaps, a legacy from Pharaonic times, and which certainly had analogies with certain practices common to the Athenian and Alexandrian Orphics.* Moreover, the Egyptians had always, as has before been said, a hankering after the priestly character, and this, coupled with the exemption from the cares of civil life that it even then conferred, caused such a passion for its assumption that the whole male population of Egypt were said a little later to be in holy orders. But even Christianity (to use

* Euripides, in a fragment preserved by Porphyry, speaks of certain Orphics as vowed to chastity and abstinence from food which had had life. Cells were reserved for such devotees in the Greek Serapeia of Alexandria and Memphis. See next note.

Pascal's phrase), cannot at once make an angel out of a beast, and there was more of the beast than of the angel about the majority of the Egyptian monks. Sprung from the dregs of a people who had groaned for centuries under the *Kourbatch* and *corvée*, utterly ignorant and unlearned, and with brains set on fire by fearful austerities, they brought with them into their new faith nothing but a fanatical hatred of Greek culture, and a dog-like obedience to the shrewd and ambitious prelates who ruled at Alexandria. With such recruits, the Egyptian Church soon showed that she had gained strength without learning tolerance, and on the adoption of Christianity by Constantine, boasted that she had received the Imperial orders for the extirpation of heresy. The supposed edict may be a forgery, but there is ground for supposing that the Gnostic sects which had formed a bridge between Paganism and Christianity were stamped out at this period with great cruelty. Yet later, the Arian and Sabellian controversies came to deluge Egypt with blood, and to provoke the remark from a contemporary historian that the wild beasts were not so dangerous to man as most of the Christians to one another. The temporary revival of Paganism under Julian did little to check these dissensions, and in the reign of Valens the struggle between Arian and Athanasian broke out afresh. It was not until the accession and baptism of Theodosius that Arianism was finally abandoned by the Court, and the Church found herself at liberty to take up the task of rooting out the ancient worships.

Yet even in the death-throes of Paganism Serapis maintained his supremacy. Although Theodosius had forbidden the practice of any religion but Christianity, and in 384 had given to Cynegius the Praetorian Prefect a commission to destroy all heathen temples, sacrifices to Serapis continued for seven years longer to be offered in the great temple at Alexandria. For the Alexandrian Serapeion was a monument of which the whole city was proud. Within its spacious courts was included the famous library containing the 200,000 volumes given by Antony to Cleopatra, and second only to the great library of the Museum. There, too, was the school of medicine founded on the observation of nature in which

Galen had studied. Then came the shrines of all the gods with whom Serapis claimed affinity, the vaults necessary for the celebration of the mysteries, the houses of the ministers of the cult, and the cells of the recluses who were devoted to Serapis and 'interned,' like the Enclosed Orders of the Catholic Church.* In the midst was the temple of Serapis himself, shining with gold, and adorned with the master-pieces of Greek art. Conspicuous among them was the colossal statue by Bryaxis of the god represented with the features of the Olympian Zeus, but with the mystic head ornament and caressing the figure of Cerberus which typified his rule over the lower as well as the upper world. Gold, silver, and ivory had been lavished on its construction, and many even among the Christians believed the prophecy which foretold that the skies would fall if a sacrilegious hand were raised against it.

But all this splendour was now doomed. Theophilus, 'the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and blood,'† had for some time filled the episcopal throne of Alexandria, and had taken a leading part in the destruction of the smaller temples. At length (in 391) he decided that the time was come to strike a blow at the Serapeion itself, and unfortunately for science, a pretext was easily found. A riot after the pattern of those lately occurring in Constantinople was provoked (as the ecclesiastical historians themselves admit) by the means taken by the bishop to insult and vilify the ancient religion.‡ The maddened Greeks, few in numbers, but still formidable from their wealth and position, flew to arms, and a fight ensued in which considerable numbers were killed on both sides. It is reported by Sozomen that the Greeks threw themselves into the Serapeion in which they stood

* The petitions of Ptolemy, son of Glaucias, to Ptolemy Philopator and his successors show that the recluses of the Serapeion at Memphis were shut up in cells which they might not leave even for an interview with the king himself. The papyri on which these petitions were written are now scattered through the different museums of Europe. See Brunet de Presle *Notices & Extraits, etc.*, t. xviii. pt. 2.

† Gibbon III., p. 418.

‡ Sozomen, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, l. VIII., c. 15: Socrates, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, l. V., c. 16, etc.

a siege in form, but this is not stated by other writers, and was probably invented to excuse the acts of vandalism that followed. It is clear, however, that by some means Theodosius was persuaded to give the bishop a free hand in the matter, and that the latter and his monks entered the place under the protection of the Imperial troops. Once there, they broke in pieces or melted down all the statues of the gods on which they could lay their hands, and razed the temple to the ground. There is some doubt as to whether the destruction extended to the library and other buildings, but as M. Botti, the Curator of the Alexandrian Municipal Museum, claims to have discovered the site of the Serapeion, and his excavations will probably solve this question, it seems unnecessary to dwell further upon it. It is at any rate certain that a Church dedicated characteristically enough to no Christian saint but to the feeble Emperor Arcadius, was built upon the ruins of the Serapeion, and that the worship of the Alexandrian gods after having endured for a period of 700 years was thus finally extinguished. Ecclesiastical writers have it that a great number of the worshippers of Serapis immediately received Christianity,* and it is to this fact that Protestant controversialists have attributed the introduction into the Church of the adoration of the Virgin, the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the Real Presence, the use of images and incense, and, in short, all the dogmas and practices of the Catholics which the sects rejected at the Reformation. But this matter also is beyond the scope of this paper.

Some notice of the causes which led to the success of this—the first world-religion which appeared in the West—may not be so much out of place. First, it must be remarked that anything like a priestly caste was unknown to the Greeks. In some cities, the priests were chosen for their personal beauty; in others, for their wealth; in all, their functions were so purely ministerial that they did not interfere with their lay occupations, and carried with them no obligation to extend the worship of the divinities whom they served. But in the Alexandrian cult all this was changed. In Ptolemaic Egypt the worship of Serapis was an

* Socrates, *op. cit.*, L. V., c. 17.

established and endowed religion, the ministers of which were officers of state. In other parts of the Hellenist world, as in Rome, its propagation was at first the work of voluntary associations, but so soon as a temple was built, its services were provided for out of the offerings of the faithful. In both cases the same result was achieved. The priests of Serapis became, in their own phrase, 'a sacred soldiery,'* devoting their whole lives to the service of the religion and profoundly interested in its extension. From this came stately processions through the streets, a splendid ritual in which even the uninitiated were allowed to join, and the use of all the means by which priests in all ages have tried to arouse the enthusiasm of the indifferent. The Alexandrian worship probably did more to spread the knowledge of its faith in a single decade than did the Mysteries of Eleusis during the thousand years of their existence.

Another point that must not be lost sight of is the great simplicity of its theology. In the Mysteries the devout must always have been puzzled to reconcile their duty to Zeus 'father of gods and men,' but the ruler of a third only of the Universe, with the reverence which the mystic rites taught them for the gods of the underworld. But the universal supremacy of Serapis, 'the greatest of the highest, and the ruler of the greatest gods,'† was asserted from the first. 'He is an independent (*i.e.*, self-existent) god,' says Aristides 'not inferior to a greater power, but is present in all things, and fills the Universe.' 'Wouldst thou know what god I am?' said his oracle in the reign of the first Ptolemy to the Cyprian King, Nicocreon; 'I myself will tell thee. The world of heaven is my head, the sea my belly, my feet are the earth, my ears are in the ether; my far beaming eye is the radiant light of the sun.'‡ The 'monotheistic pantheism,' as it has been called, of the Orphics could hardly be more precisely stated.

But, after all, the world accepted the Alexandrian worship because it came to it in its hour of need. Alexander's conquests had carried the Greek language and culture to the furthest limits

* Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, I. XI., c. 15.

† *Ibid.*, c. 30.

‡ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I., I., c. 20.

of the then known earth, and had broken down the barriers which a jealous patriotism had set up between people and people, as well as between god and god. The rise of the Roman power had followed to establish the reign of law throughout the world, and to accustom the nations to the idea of a Supreme Ruler before whom, as before a father, all the peoples of the earth should be equal. But side by side with this, a conception of the Deity as an all-ruling Providence, the personification of mercy and love, was forming in the minds of men, and only at Eleusis had it found expression in a formal creed. 'Those masculine goddesses,' to quote the words of Renan, 'for ever brandishing a spear from the height of an Acropolis, no longer awoke any sentiment,' nor was it very natural that they should. The Hera of Homer does not conceal her scorn for the 'creatures of a day'; Athena rages with implacable spite against any mortal who is unlucky enough to offend her; even Aphrodite is forward to thrust herself into scenes of blood and battle. Alone among the Greek divinities, Demeter stands as the ideal of the gentler and more humane emotions, the type of divine sorrow and of purified affection. And it was this type that the Alexandrians gave to the world. Isis was to her worshippers 'the haven of peace and the altar of pity.' 'Thou holy and eternal protectress of the race of men,' prays to her the suppliant in Apuleius, 'thou who ever givest good gifts to comfort-needing mortals, thou bestowest upon the lot of the wretched the sweet affection of a mother.' While her consort Serapis, true descendant of the 'merciful lords,' Merodach and Osiris, extends to the human race the protection which they formerly confined to particular nations, 'The protector and saviour of all men'; 'The most loving of the gods towards mankind'; 'He alone among the gods is ready to help him who invokes him in his need'; 'He is greatly turned towards mercy . . . turning ever to the salvation of those who need it alway.' Such are the terms in which Aristides addresses him. And in this way, too, it has been said* his worship did much to 'prepare and facilitate' the advent of Christianity.

F. LEGGE.

* Lafaye, *op. cit.*, p. 169 (quoting Bottiger's *Isis Vesper*).

ART. III.—THE UNIVERSITIES OF EUROPE IN THE
MIDDLE AGES.

The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. HASTINGS
RASHDALL. 2 vols. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.
1875.

IT is not so long ago that it was the fashion to say that the days of Universities were over; Carlyle laid it down that the University of the future would be the library of books, where the scholar would roam and read at his will. But so far is this from proving to be the case, that it may well be doubted whether Universities have ever, since their early days, played a more vigorous part in the life of their respective countries than at the present time. In France the freedom of the provincial Universities is being emancipated from the centralization of Paris; in Germany the 'Socialists of the Chair' have contributed and are contributing a powerful solvent to the present organization of the relations between Capital and Labour; in Great Britain the Universities, old and new, have never attracted more students to themselves, while their influence makes itself felt in all departments of education; in the United States so popular is the idea of University culture that it draws from the pockets of the munificent millionaire endowments which bid fair soon to eclipse the ancient wealth of Oxford and Cambridge, and the State subventions of Germany.

It was natural that this revival of present interest should stimulate study as to the past history of the Universities, and it was high time that something should be done in this direction. Not that patriotic sons had failed in the past to write the stories of their *Almæ Matres*; each old University had its historian, or its many historians; in the case of some of them, *e.g.*, Oxford or Bologna, the mere list of books professing to tell their story, in whole or in part, swells to a treatise. But it was patriotism and not criticism which inspired these studies; few chapters in the history of literature contain more reckless assertions or even more unblushing

forgeries, than the works of the University annalists. This was due to several causes, which it may be well to illustrate. In the first place, the Mediæval University attached such importance to authority and prescription that absolute forgery was employed to supply documents, which had all the authority of the '*littera scripta*,' and the authenticity of which no one thought of examining. So, probably as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, a charter was produced at Bologna, which purported to derive the foundation of that University from Theodosius II. in 433. Unfortunately 'the zeal of the forgers somewhat over-shot the mark, and discredited itself by producing two distinct charters, each professing to be issued by the same Emperor in the same year.' At Oxford the forgeries were as unblushing, but they concerned rather individual foundations like University College than the University as a whole; Cambridge, however, was not outdone in audacity even by Bologna. As soon as it began to rise into prominence as an European, and not merely a provincial school, it proceeded to furnish itself with an antiquity commensurate with its new importance, by producing a bull of privileges, purporting to be granted by Pope Honorius I. in 624, in which the Pontiff says that he himself had been a student of Cambridge. This reckless forgery, with other documents equally valuable, was made the base of the legatine judgment, given at Barnwell in 1432, in favour of the ecclesiastical independence of the University. Such stories as these are only interesting in the combination of reverence for authority and of lack of criticism, which is characteristic of the Mediæval mind, and which had such an important influence on the faith of Europe in the ready acceptance it secured for the Forged Decretals of Isidore.

But it was not only by actual forgeries that the University annalists swelled their histories. Mere assertion went for much, without any trouble being taken to substantiate it. Thus Charlemagne had a prescriptive right to be called the founder of the great University of Paris, and its historian Du Boulay ('perhaps the stupidest man that ever wrote a valuable book' as Mr. Rashdall quaintly calls him), fills 2 folios of

his colossal work with the history of the University during 400 years of non-existence. Alfred the Great has been so often asserted to be the founder of Oxford that the 'tale still has a kind of underground existence in University calendars, in second-rate guide-books, and in popular histories of England.' And this brings us naturally to the third cause for the vast amount of fiction which has grown up round University history; the popular imagination, especially the imagination of an uncritical period, demands a personal agent; it cannot conceive of a great institution, whether constitutional or educational, without a definite founder. Hence what was really the result of the slow process of time, is attributed to a definite year and a definite person; thus the English Parliament is still put down in historical handbooks as the creation of Earl Simon de Montfort, though scholars have shown clearly that it was the gradual outcome of the union between a centralized government and the local institutions of the English people. This tendency to ascribe the origin of Universities to the definite action of an individual was stimulated by the fact that this really was the origin of later Universities; the generations that saw these institutions being founded by Popes and Kings and Emperors, could not understand that the model had been given by the united work of generations of forgotten scholars.

The critical history of Universities is the work of our own century. Savigny led the way, and his ideas have been developed and illustrated by the labours of generations of scholars, prominent among whom is Denifle, the under-Archivist of the Holy See, whose great work on *The Universities of the Middle Ages to 1400*, is still incomplete. Mr. Rashdall's attention was turned to the history of Universities as long ago as 1883, by its being chosen as the subject for the Chancellor's Prize at Oxford; his essay, which was then successful, has appeared after twelve years of steady work in the two splendid volumes which are before us. He modestly disclaims much originality except in regard to the English Universities, where Father Denifle is for once incomplete (it is curious that, in University history as elsewhere, the giants of Continental scholarship are so incomplete as to things Eng-

lish); but it is a real service to the history of education and of the intellectual movement of the Middle Ages, to have the whole evidence as to them critically considered, and the results set forth with a clearness which leaves little to be desired, and a vigour and humour which enliven the dullest constitutional points.

It is to be hoped that this book of Mr. Rashdall's has, once for all, settled for Englishmen the question of the real meaning of the word 'University;' the old superstition that it had something to do with the universal range of the studies pursued, dies hard; even Mr. Gladstone, in his Romanes lecture at Oxford in 1892, seemed still to favour it, although he also gave the real origin of the word. The mistake is natural, for the idea that all knowledge is the province of a University is a noble one, but it is a mistake all the same; in the mediæval Universities there was no pretence at aiming at universality of study, and 'universitas' simply denotes a corporation or organized body; originally 'scholarium' or 'magistrorum' was always added as a defining term, and the word is used as much for the guilds of traders as it is for those of students. Among the instances which Mr. Rashdall quotes of the use of the word 'universitas,' there is a most curious one which illustrates admirably its wide application. In the year 1284, the Pisans were defeated by the Genoese, and a large number of captives were taken, who were kept in prison for eighteen years; they assumed the right of using a common seal with the legend '*Sigillum universitatis carceratorum Januæ detentorum.*' 'Universitas' then is originally a word of wide use, which has become specialized just as 'college,' 'convent,' 'corps,' and many others have done.

The causes which led to the formation of these unions were various, and, as will be seen later, the form which they took was various also, but they were one part of the revival of civilization and learning, which begins with the eleventh century. As Mr. Rashdall points out, there is no evidence for the widely spread theory which connects the new birth of Europe with the passing of the millennial year and the relief from the terror of an immediate Apocalypse. The causes were much more

mundane, more widespread and slow working; they were the growth of civic life, the cessation or the checking of the raids of Northmen and Saracens, the general restoration of order in Europe, and the increased intercourse with the East: above all the two great institutions of mediæval Europe, the Empire and the Church, had been reformed, and were once more realities; the emperors of the Saxon house had restored the power of the Holy Roman Empire, and had revived the sanctity of the Holy See.

It was Italy which led the way in this Renaissance of the twelfth century, and among the Universities of Italy, Bologna was certainly the first. The medical school of Salerno, it is true, was, from the end of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century, as indisputably the head of European medicine as Bologna was of the study of Law, or Paris of the Scholastic Philosophy; to it patients came to be cured from all parts of Europe, and some of the current medical maxims of our own day may still be traced to its '*Flos Medicinæ*,' which was dedicated to Robert Duke of Normandy, as '*King of the English*,' when he stayed there to be cured of his wound after the First Crusade. This venerable source is responsible for the dictum '*post coenam stabis aut passus mille meabis*,' and for the limitation of a man's proper amount of sleep to six hours (the popular version, however, differs in its further details from that quoted by Mr. Rashdall.)

But Salerno remained exclusively medical, and it seems to have exercised no influence on the formation of other schools. Bologna on the other hand was the great model of the student-universities everywhere; from it (though probably indirectly through Orleans) the Scotch Universities derive the popular election of the Rector, which remains in them alone, among modern seats of learning, as an interesting survival of the freedom of the mediæval student. Bologna has, in our own day, chosen the year 1088 for commemoration of its octocentenary, and the magnificent pageants on that occasion, in which scholars from all parts of Europe and from the New World took part, were a striking evidence of the revived interest in universities and their history; but it is impossible to consider

that the University as an organised body dates from that date, even though its great scholar, Irnerius, was lecturing there then or shortly after. For it is not only the presence of one or of many scholars which makes a University; we must be able to trace in it an organised corporate life and definite privileges of self-government. Of these we have the first evidence in the famous decree of the Emperor Frederic I., the 'Authentic Habita,' given at the Diet of Roncaglia in 1158. By this scholars are taken under the special protection of the Emperor, and the privilege is given to a scholar, in case of legal proceedings against him, of being cited 'before his own master or before the bishop of the city.' It is true these privileges are granted not to Bologna alone, but to the students of all Lombardy. The Doctors of Bologna, however, had played a prominent part in the Diet, and we may fairly assume that already there was some sort of organisation, by which a recognised course of study was demanded of those who would be teachers or doctors, and that they were required, before attaining this rank, to obtain the approval of those who were already teaching. Of such a body we have no evidence in Bologna before 1215, but probably it is mere accident that there is no earlier evidence, and the corporation of teachers had some existence very soon after the middle of the preceding century, if not before. It was one of the fundamental ideas of the Roman law that those engaged in any lawful occupation might form themselves into a 'college' or body for the advancement of their common interests, and that admission to this body should be determined by the consent of those who were already members, and should be conditional on proved fitness for the discharge of the duties.

Here then we have the root idea out of which university degrees grew up. The most important element in them always was, whatever other conditions were imposed, that the candidate should have approved himself to those who were masters before him, or to their representatives, and should after this be admitted to be his own master. The degrees of the most modern Universities are still conferred in a solemn convocation, in the presence of those who have already graduated; even

Oxford, where unfortunately the frequency of degree ceremonies has robbed them as a rule of dignity, and sometimes almost of decency, the form is kept up that no degree can be given unless there are at least nine M.A.s present to sanction its conferment.

It was not this organization of teachers, however, which was the real University of Bologna. As has been said, that was of the student type. Its origin must be sought in the crowd of students whom the lectures of Irnerius and his successors had drawn to Bologna. These were often men of mature age, clerics who wished to improve their knowledge of church law, or laymen in important positions; and many of them too came from foreign countries, especially from Germany. They found themselves in an Italian town without the rights of citizenship, for in the free republics of mediæval Italy as in Greece, these depended on birth, and were not lightly given to the alien; hence it was natural for the students to organize themselves into a union of their own, or into a *universitas*.

The 'universities' of the students then, like any other mediæval guild, grew up from voluntary association. Its head received the afterwards honourable title of 'Rector,' because that was the usual Latin title of the time for the chief magistrate of a town (the Podesta) or for the head of a guild. When this association of students came into existence we cannot say definitely, but the first reference to it is just at the close of the twelfth century when one of the law professors at Bologna (Bassianus) disputes the right of the scholars to elect a Rector. Once formed, however, it rapidly grew into a great power; for on the presence of the students depended alike the prosperity of the town and of the professors. Any obnoxious tradesman or teacher could be 'boycotted,' and so brought to reason. And here we must notice how the origin of the guilds among the foreign students led to a very curious result, *i.e.*, that the professors had no share in them. These (as a rule) were from the first, citizens of Bologna, and in the end all the 'ordinary' chairs were reserved for natives; hence they already enjoyed that protection by law which the students sought by association. But this separation between professor and

student, which began thus accidentally, resulted in a position of dependence for the professors, which to modern eyes seems anomalous in the extreme.

We can trace something of the organization of these early student universities from the statutes of the German nation, which have come down to us, and from the accounts of the year 1292, which have been also preserved. The statutes define the object of the guild as 'fraternal charity, mutual association and amity, the consolation of the sick and the support of the needy, the conduct of funerals, the attendance and escort of those taking degrees, and the spiritual advantage of students.' From the accounts we get a livelier picture; the payments are chiefly devoted to convivial purposes, and sometimes the items are very suggestive in their juxtaposition, *e.g.*, when an expenditure of £3 for 'malmsey wine' is immediately followed by an entry 'for broken windows.'

The associations with their common rector and his counselors came in time to rule the professors with a rod of iron. We may quote some illustrations of this from Mr. Rashdall (*l.*, p. 197, *seq.*)

A professor who wished for a holiday, had to get leave from his own students, and from the rector and consiliarii. By the city regulations he was counted as absent (and therefore fined), unless he had an audience of at least five for an ordinary, and three for an extraordinary lecture. He was bound to begin punctually when the bell of St. Peter's began to ring for mass, under pain of a fine of twenty solidi, and he must not continue one minute after the bell has begun to ring for tierce. To prevent him spending a disproportionate amount of time over the early parts of his book, the law texts were divided into 'puncta'; he was required to have reached each of these at a specified date, and he had to deposit ten Bolognese pounds with a banker, and forfeit a certain part of this for every day that he was late.

It seems at first sight as if the position of the professors must have been almost intolerable: we must remember, however, that a student always depended on these oppressed teachers for his degree, and that the statutes represent only

the student's view of the duties of professors. If we reconstructed the behaviour of the modern student from the statutory limitations imposed on him by his superiors, we should arrive at a conclusion which hardly corresponds with the reality; perhaps the mediæval professors were equally able to evade the statutes against them.

The injunctions for the students' own discipline are much less elaborate. They are to wear their gowns of 'statutable or black stuff' under a penalty of three pounds, and there are strict regulations against gaming. Among these the most curious is that which forbids men to play at all, even in their own houses, for three months before going down. Was this to secure those still up and to prevent bad debts? Or was it from regard to the departing student?

The struggles of the University of Bologna against the city, and the gradual growth of its privileges, cannot be entered on here, but it is important to notice how materially it differed from the northern universities, of which Paris was the model, not only in organization but also in the character of its studies and its students. The Bolognese professor or scholar was by no means necessarily a 'clerk,' although the Rector was bound to be at least in minor orders, as otherwise he could not have exercised jurisdiction over clerical students, and the prevailing studies of Bologna were always legal or medical. Before the 14th century, theology was left to the regular clergy, especially the Mendicant Friars, and it was only in 1352 that a theological faculty was founded. This distinction between Bologna and Paris was due to the contrast between Italy and the North of Europe. In the former the life of the old Roman civilisation had never died out; the Roman law had always played an important part in the actual administration of the cities, and the culture of the Old World still survived both for good and for evil. Mr. Rashdall quotes the striking saying of Ozanam that 'the night which intervened between the intellectual daylight of antiquity and the dawn of the Renaissance was but "une de ces nuits lumineuses où les dernières clartés du soir se prolongent jusqu'aux premières blancheurs du matin."'

Before proceeding to speak of the development of the other great archetypal university, that of Paris, it may be well to consider how the conception of a 'university' was developed in imitation of the schools of Paris and Bologna. Originally, as has been seen, the term 'universitas' had nothing to do with teaching; so far as there was any title in the Middle Ages corresponding to the modern use of the word 'university,' it was 'Studium Generale.' This does not become common till the beginning of the 13th century, and at first was purely vague in its signification, just as in England at the present day the title of 'public school' is used in the most various senses; but 'Studium Generale' may be taken to imply three things: 1. That the school attracted, or tried to attract, scholars from all parts, and not from one country only; 2. That it provided teaching not simply in Arts, but also in one at least of the higher faculties, *i.e.*, Theology, Law, and Medicine; 3. That the subjects were taught by a considerable number of masters. Two causes tended to make this vague use more precise. Of these, the first was the growth in the honorary value of degrees; originally the teaching had been sought for its own sake, or at any rate to enable the learner to become a teacher in his turn, but as the number of those obtaining the qualification increased, there grew up a large class who had no intention of devoting themselves to study in any sense, but who were proud to display the much valued title of Doctor or Master. The feeling soon grew up that the degrees of some places were of more value than those of others, and hence by taking to itself the title of a 'Studium Generale,' a new place of learning did its best to convey to the world its claim that its teaching and its examinations were on a level with those of Paris or Bologna. There was a second and a more material reason; by the bull of Pope Honorius III. in 1219, clerks might receive in absence the fruits of their benefices so long as they were teaching theology, and students might have the same privilege for a period of five years, but this right soon came to be limited to those who were studying at 'Studia Generalia.' Hence, in order that students might enjoy their revenues, universities became

very anxious to have their right to this honourable title recognized.

And now a new element came in. In 1224 the Emperor Frederic II. founded a Studium Generale at Naples, and in 1229 Gregory IX. did the same at Toulouse. The idea rapidly grew that Pope and Emperor could confer the coveted title, and before the end of the 13th century (1292) both Paris and Bologna stooped to have what was theirs, by time-honoured custom, confirmed by grant of the Pope Nicholas IV. Of the older studia, Oxford and Padua never seem to have received this papal recognition, and based their undisputed title to be world-wide seats of learning merely on prescriptive right; but Oxford tried, though without success, to get her position confirmed by the Pope. This papal recognition in theory carried with it the '*jus ubique docendi*'—i.e., the graduates of these recognised universities could claim admission to the same privileges in all other universities—but in practice this right was very sparingly enjoyed. Paris refused to recognize Oxford degrees without fresh examinations, and Oxford repaid the compliment, in spite of the privileges granted to Paris by the Papal Bull.

It is not necessary here to enter into the question whether this Papal or Imperial brief was necessary for the creation of a legitimate Studium Generale, or whether the sovereign of any country had the power of founding one. Mr. Rashdall inclines to side with Denifle in choosing the former alternative, but he is impartial enough to reject the authority of the great German scholar, when he denies the right of Cambridge to the coveted title, before she received the bull of Pope John XXII. in 1318. However, though he makes it fairly clear that Cambridge was a recognised school for nearly a century before this date, he makes it also clear that mediæval Cambridge was quite an unimportant university, and that it only rises into prominence when Oxford fell under well-deserved suspicion for heresy, at the end of the fourteenth century, by her vigorous championship of the doctrines of Wycliffe.

We must now turn to the Universities north of the Alps, which, as has been said, were different from those of Italy in

character and in organisation, and among which Paris is indisputably the first, both in date and in importance. The baseless attribution of its schools to Charlemagne has been already mentioned. His sole connection with it lies in the fact that the organisation of education, which was not the least important part of his many-sided work, established and confirmed the already existing connection between the Church and education. It is not until the end of the eleventh century, however, that Paris has, in William of Champeaux, a teacher of first-rate importance, and it was his fame which brought to the schools of Paris the famous Abelard, who in his turn drew by his lectures multitudes of students to hear him, and whose fame definitely confirmed the intellectual supremacy of Paris. Not that there was any organised university in the time of the famous opponent of St. Bernard, but we can trace in his career the ideas which were later to be the basis of the organisation. Abelard offended his contemporaries by his daring attempt to carry reason into the domain of theology; but he also offended them because he ventured to set at nought the educational traditions of his day, and to come forward as a teacher without having been admitted to the work by those who were teachers before him. Abelard had but scant respect for authority, educational or otherwise. His dialectic reduced his first master, William of Champeaux, to silence, and he irreverently compared his teacher in theology, Anselm of Laon, to the 'barren fig-tree' of the Gospel. But his successes were short-lived, and his independence brought him under the ban of the Church. His eloquence, however, and the force of his intellect had ensured the triumph of the Scholastic Theology and Logic, which henceforth reigned supreme in Paris. The teacher died in disgrace at Clugny, while his pupil, Peter Lombard, rose to be Archbishop of Paris, and by the application of his master's method in his famous 'Sentences,' determined the character of the studies of the next three centuries.

To us, with our wider culture and our numerous objects of interest, the old enthusiasm for logical and metaphysical speculation seems strange. We can hardly now imagine an audience, even of scholars, roused to fury by the question of

'Universals and Particulars,' and breaking each others heads, because one side maintained that there was somewhere an ideal table of which all tables seen on earth were only shadows, while the other side upheld as stoutly the position that the only realities were the individual tables which men saw with their eyes. But so it was. The words of Porphyry in his *Isagoge* have, as Mr. Rashdall says, roused more controversy probably than any other uninspired words. 'Now concerning genera and species, the question indeed whether they have a substantial existence, or whether they consist in bare intellectual concepts only, I shall forbear to determine.' But this question the Middle Age Students were always trying to determine, and a thorny question it proved. What made it worse was that it was found to have a theological bearing. A man who believed only in the reality of universals was in danger of being reproached for unorthodoxy because his doctrine might be pressed into the view that all genera were included in one summum genus, or, in its theological aspect, into Pantheism. A man on the other hand who denied reality to universals, and admitted it only for particulars, was in great danger of turning the doctrine of the Trinity into the belief in three separate Gods. Each then of the great philosophical schools had its theological pitfalls.

Out of the multitude of students attracted to Paris by the charms of the scholastic philosophy grew up the organised university. Its ecclesiastical character, however, brought into prominence an element which was unimportant at Bologna. The teachers in Paris formed themselves into a '*universitas*' or guild, as those of Bologna had done; but they had a formidable foe to their independence in the Chancellor of the Cathedral at Notre Dame, who had the supervision of the schools connected with the cathedral church, and whose license was necessary for a man's entering on the career of a teacher. Round the giving of this license raged the battle for the independence of the University. The Chancellor claimed that he could refuse the license to teach or give it to whom he pleased. The guild of masters on the other hand claimed that they alone were the judges of a man's fitness to be ad-

mitted to their ranks, and that the Chancellor must license those whom they approved. He was in authority, but they had on their side the formidable weapon of being able to 'boycott' the lectures of all who were not members of their body, or who submitted to the Chancellor, and in the end the organised guild of teachers triumphed, largely through the assistance of the Holy See, which saw, with its accustomed wisdom, the assistance for its own claims which was to be found in the new educational body.

The ceremonies by which a man was admitted to the fellowship of teachers may very probably go back to classical times, while survivals of them are found more or less in all universities at the present day. The conferring of the cap ('birettatio') was the sign that the student was henceforth his own master, just as the Roman slave had received his cap as the sign of his freedom. In the Scotch universities, graduates are still 'capped' on receiving their degrees, and at the American 'commencements,' the graduates receive their caps from the president. In the more ceremonial South, the further ceremonies of the investiture with the ring and the kiss of peace are preserved. And everywhere the presents to already existing masters, and the banquet and other festivities with which the new master had to celebrate his success, (in some of the Spanish universities this characteristically took the form of a bull fight provided for the amusement of the University), are represented by the payment of fees, which forms an invariable part of all university graduations. The feeling that a new member must pay his footing was as common in these societies of teachers as in other less dignified bodies. It is to be regretted that in Oxford a large part of the degree ceremonies have disappeared; the new M.A. receives a license to 'Incept,' but he is then dispensed (without his knowledge) from performing this, the most important part, of his graduation.

The guild of masters at Paris can be traced as existing as early as 1170, when we read of an abbot of St. Albans being admitted to the 'fellowship of the elect masters,' and in 1208, in the course of the struggle mentioned above, the University

(for we may now strictly call it so) obtained its first written statutes. These are of the simplest kind, and require only three things, the wearing of the academical dress, the observance of the proper order in lectures and in disputations, and the due attendance at the funerals of deceased masters. If this last point shows the origin of the guild of masters as a private society, the second was soon to lead to a change of the greatest importance, *i.e.*, the fixing of a definite course of academical study. This was soon developed in the statutes of the Papal Legate, Robert de Courçon, in 1215, which may be said to mark an epoch in the history of universities. In the previous century, a student had worked much as he pleased; so we find John of Salisbury, the friend of Becket, passing from lectures on Logic to a study of the Classics which almost seems to anticipate the 15th century Renaissance: henceforth a student who wished for a degree had a fixed course before him to pursue, and this limitation of freedom has been a feature of university studies ever since.

It was in this struggle with the Chancellor that the University developed its constitution, with its Rector at its head, and its Faculty of Arts divided into four Nations, while the superior faculties form independent corporations. The organization of Paris was largely copied in Oxford, and Mr. Rashdall has put forth a most ingenious theory that the very existence of the great English University, as an organized body, is to be traced to a migration of Parisian students between 1165 and 1167. We know at any rate that at that period Henry II., in the course of his quarrel with Archbishop Thomas, issued an ordinance that all beneficed English clerks who might be studying abroad, were to return to England within three months as 'they loved their revenues.' That such a threat would bring home most of the English students from Paris would be probable in itself; we have also evidence that at this time there was a compulsory retirement of 'alien scholars' from France. It is most natural to suppose that this body of homeless students would settle somewhere in England, and if so, Oxford would have been the natural place for them to choose; at any rate there is no doubt that the evidence for

a large number of students in Oxford begins to become clear very soon after 1170, and almost immediately traces of organization are found among them, which it is most natural to assume were copied direct from Paris.

But in several respects the growth of Oxford privileges has a character of its own; the most important of these is the position of the Chancellor. Oxford was not a cathedral city, but its bishop was more than a hundred miles away at Lincoln; hence there was no great ecclesiastical Chancellor, as at Paris, to attempt to crush the privileges of the university. When the Chancellor appears—as he does in a decision of the Papal Legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, in 1214—he is appointed specially for the university; and though at first the Bishop of Lincoln had the right of nominating him, yet very early the masters of arts seem to have secured the privilege of electing the man who was to be presented to the Bishop for nomination, and by the middle of the 14th century the confirmation of the election seems to have become a mere form. Hence the Chancellor at Oxford is not the would-be oppressor of the University; he is its representative and champion, and Oxford grew up far more free from episcopal interference than did its mother-university under the shadow of the great cathedral of Notre Dame.

Another point in which the circumstances of English life led to an important departure from the Parisian model, is in the comparative unimportance of the division into 'nations.' There are traces that the fourfold division may have once existed in Oxford, but England was far too much one nation to require such a division; the four nations became two, the Southerners and the Northerners, and their representatives, the Proctors, exist to the present day as the executive of the university, but the term 'nation' soon ceases to be used, and the Faculty of Arts votes as a single body.

It would be most interesting to gather from Mr. Rashdall's book a sketch of the development of the privileges of Oxford, and still more to describe the part it played, especially in the development of the Scholastic philosophy at the end of the 13th. and in the 14th century, and still more in the Wycliffite

movement. But it is necessary to turn to some of the more general features affecting all universities. With regard to the numbers of the mediæval students, Mr. Rashdall shows clearly that they have been enormously exaggerated, *e.g.*, the famous Archbishop of Armagh, Fitz Ralph, in a speech before the Papal Court in 1354, estimates the number of students in Oxford 'in *his own day*' at 30,000, though they had fallen to 6000—Mr. Rashdall, by the way, hardly gives the full strength of the Archbishop's words when he writes there 'had *once* been 30,000 students—but all the evidence that we have as to numbers of those 'determining,' and as to the size of the mediæval city at Oxford, makes it impossible for us to put the academic population of 14th century Oxford higher than 3000, which is the estimate Wycliffe gives. At Paris, which had far more of an international character, Mr. Rashdall thinks there may have been at one time as many as 6000 or 7000 students.

As to the life of these students, we shall not be far wrong in concluding that it was a very stormy one; the history of all universities is one long battle against encroachments on the part of the towns where they were situated, or of the bishop in whose diocese they were, and when the scholars were not fighting against a common oppressor, they fought each other. At Oxford each advance in privileges is won at the cost of some outrage on the part of the town, a process which culminated in the great riot of St. Scholastica's day in 1354, when two days' pitched battle culminated in the complete defeat of the students, the slaughter of numerous "clerks," and then, through the usual interference of Church and Crown on behalf of the University, in the complete humiliation of the city—a humiliation which has only come to an end in our own century. It is curious to note that these Town and Gown rows, which form so prominent a feature at Oxford, are almost equally important everywhere; the clerk and the townsman considered each other sworn foes, though they depended for their existence, or at any rate their prosperity, on each other. The immortal Bailie Nicol Jarvie, in the 18th century, complains of the same insolence on the part of the Glasgow students which had vexed the soul of the

mayors of mediæval Oxford. The conduct of both sides is so full of faults that it is hard to decide between them, but as the Universities triumphed, their historians can afford to be generous, especially now when it may be hoped that the old hostility is a thing of the past. One point, however, must always be borne in mind; the struggle for University privileges, and especially for exemption from the ordinary jurisdictions, was only part of the great mediæval struggle for the rights of the clergy against lay interference.

The usual success of the universities in these struggles brings us to another point, *i.e.*, that the students' strength was largely due to their poverty. When any trouble arose the University at once suspended its lectures, and if the trouble was serious, the whole body of students was prepared at once to migrate. This was easy, for they had no buildings of their own to lose, and the work of the University could be carried on successfully wherever houses or rooms could be hired for the dwelling-places or the lectures of the students, and churches borrowed for the more solemn functions, such as admissions to degrees. It is a curious feature in the history, especially of the Italian Universities, to read the negotiations between discontented students and towns anxious to attract them to reside, while the universities of established reputation, like Bologna, tried to bind their professors by oaths not to desert and carry their students with them. By the end of the 13th century, the foundation of colleges in Oxford begins to give the students a permanent stake in the city, but Walter de Merton, to whose thought and munificence England owes its college system, definitely contemplated that his foundation might move elsewhere, and he had secured for it, in 'Pythagoras' Hall, a local habitation in Cambridge.

It is not till the fifteenth century that the age of university buildings proper as distinguished from those of colleges, begins; as the mediæval educational system was losing its real life, so it became rich and increased in goods. Oxford acquires her Schools, her present magnificent Divinity School, and the Library over it at this period, when her freedom and vigour had been crushed out of her.

Colleges have become so characteristic a part of the English Universities, that it will be a revelation to many Englishmen that such foundations were common in all the mediæval universities; at Bologna, for example, there was the Spanish College, which was founded in 1367, and which is still used by the Government of Spain to train graduates for the diplomatic service, but it was Paris which was the origin of the collegiate system, and Mr. Rashdall gives a list of some seventy which were founded there between 1180 and 1480. They were originally only endowed hospicia for the students, and were not in Paris allowed such complete powers of self-government as were given to the English colleges. In Paris these foundations gradually decayed, and perished finally in the crash of the Revolution, while Oxford has not lost one of the foundations for the learning of the secular clergy which the piety of the Middle Ages gave her.

The history of the Colleges in the Scotch Universities is different. Here, after the German model, they were intended rather to be endowments for the teaching faculty of the University than for independent bodies of students; hence as they had a purpose independent of the common life of their members, this could disappear while the college continued to exist. It was about 1820 that the 'common tables' of St. Andrews and Aberdeen was at last given up.

But though the Scotch Universities have in this respect departed from their original arrangements, yet it may safely be said that in several respects they preserve more faithfully the features of the Mediæval University than do the apparently more venerable, but in many respects more altered constitutions of Oxford and Cambridge. In the first place the ordinary student at Glasgow or Aberdeen is very much younger than in most modern universities, and about the same age as the scholars of Mediæval Oxford or Paris. In spite of this he has kept, as has been said, the now unique privilege of electing his Rector, and the old organization of the Nations is, in Glasgow at least, still used in the election. What is more important, though not more interesting, is that the Scotch degree course is still modelled on the old Trivium and Quadrivium of the mediæval student; hence

the prominence of Logic and Metaphysics in the studies of the northern students, a prominence to which Europe owes the development of an important school of philosophy. As Mr. Rashdall says, 'between the time of Hutcheson and that of J. S. Mill, a majority of the philosophers, who wrote in the English language, were professors or at least alumni, of the Scotch Universities.

As to the value of the mediæval degree course as an intellectual training, very various estimates have been formed. Roger Bacon's view of it, at its most flourishing period in the tenth century, is most unfavourable. He complains that the clergy neglect their proper studies for that of Law, which is the sure avenue to preferment, that in theology, the Bible is neglected for the Sentences, that boys begin to study it before they could read their Psalter or had mastered their Latin grammar, and that mathematics is neglected, although in this respect, Oxford was not quite so bad as Paris. But his opinion must not be valued too highly; he was before his time, and even in our own day, the researcher who is the glory of his university, is not the best judge of the value of its ordinary work. The mediæval degree course can at all events claim that in it were trained the acutest intellects and the highest characters of the Middle Ages; to take Oxford alone, a course could not have been despicable which produced in one century Edmund Rich, Robert Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, and Roger Bacon himself. And we have the best of evidence that it was valued by contemporaries, in the endowments which were given to enable poor students to enjoy it.

A striking feature in it, especially in the early periods, is the attractive influence exercised by great teachers. The lecture room had something of the charm of the tournament, and the teacher held himself prepared, like the knights in the lists, to dispute against all comers; ambitious scholars even went from place to place, seeking foemen worthy of their dialectic.

It was this feeling which made the degree ceremonies so important; a candidate who chose some daring thesis to maintain, might hope to attract attention and open the way for his subsequent career. So much is this the case that we

even have statutes in Oxford and Paris, to prevent a disputant's friends using force to secure him an audience, and dragging in the passers-by to hear him. When books were rare and costly, the influence of the spoken word, always great, must have been ten times greater; and dry and scholastic as the mediæval studies appear to us, yet a great man like St. Thomas Aquinas or Duns Scotus could make them of vivid interest.

The character of the mediæval examinations is a subject of considerable difficulty. On the one hand there are such remarkable facts as that in Oxford at any rate there is no clear proof of examinations in the modern sense of the word at all, that at Greifswald, where we have the lists of candidates and of those who actually passed from 1456 to 1478, no candidate failed to satisfy the examiners, and that at Paris in 1426, a candidate who achieved the unusual distinction of a 'pluck' brought an action against his examiners, that they had rejected him from odium theologicum. On the other hand there seems no doubt that the examinations at Paris were at first a formidable ceremony; we have a remarkable sermon of Robert, the founder of the Sorbonne, which draws an elaborate comparison between the examination before the Chancellor and the Last Judgment; of course its point is the greater severity of the latter, but the comparison would have been impossible had the university examination been a mere farce. So too we have elaborate accounts of the examination ceremony at Bologna, where at this 'rigorous and tremendous' ceremony, as it is called, the examiner was required to treat the examinee as his own son. Even more significant are the repeated statutes against bribing examiners and the fact that comparatively but a small proportion of those matriculating ever proceeded to their M.A., or even 'determined' as B.As. Even when the actual examination had become a farce, or did not exist at all, there still was a standard of minimum attainment for the degree; it always implied residence and the hearing of the proper lectures during a long period; the course for the D.D. at Oxford for example extended over 20 years.

The personal influence of the lecturer, the importance of the spoken word, is connected with another remarkable feature of the mediæval universities. Though they were clerical in character, it is a great mistake to imagine them as homes of theological bigotry or narrowness; on the contrary they are associated, in their best days, with liberty of thought in matters religious. It was the Universities which insisted on studying the newly discovered works of Aristotle in the Renaissance of the thirteenth century; his logical treatises, or parts of them, had always been known, but the Church at first looked with grave, and not undeserved suspicion, on his scientific and ethical works; the free spirit of the Universities, however, triumphed, and the genius of the great schoolmen succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation of faith and reason. This was especially the work of the great Dominicans of Paris, Albert the Great (1193-1280) and his pupil, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). On this occasion the regular clergy were on the side of liberty; as a rule, however, it was the secular clergy who ventured to handle theological questions, and whose lectures were the inspiring cause of so many of the reform movements before the Reformation. In the boldness of their theological teaching and in their popular character, the mediæval universities are specially represented by those of Scotland in our own day; they were essentially the universities of the people, as well as of the classes, and success in the university schools was an avenue by which the low born peasant could rise to position and authority in the Church, just as in Scotland the Presbyterian ministry has drawn to itself, through the Universities, so large a share of the best intellect of the people.

One more point may be noticed as illustrated repeatedly by Mr. Rashdall's book, *i.e.* the constant connection between the educational and the religious movements of the Middle Ages. The great revival of Aristotelian study in the 13th century coincides with, and was profoundly influenced by, the teaching of the Friars, while in the fourteenth century the Wycliffite movement of Oxford and its successor, the Hussite movement at Prague, were especially connected with university privileges and studies. So close is this connection that, as Mr. Rashdall points

out, scholasticism maintained itself in the schools of Italy after it had been driven out of those north of the Alps, and only gave way when the Catholic reaction of the sixteenth century produced in its turn a body of teachers, uniting religious fervour with new educational methods.

The number of points of interest in these volumes is endless; the philosophic movements of the middle ages and the life of the students generally we have hardly had time even to refer to, but they are abundantly illustrated; the effect of endowments and the character of the original college foundations and their developments too we have had almost entirely to pass over. We can only hope that in these days of University Reform and Extension, the encouragements and the warnings of the experience of their predecessors may become familiar to the students of the present day, and often it will be found that the true path of reform is that indicated by the old motto

'Antiquam exquirite matrem.'

J. WELLS.

ART. IV.—THE ASIATICS IN AMERICA.

THE question of the origin of the native American races, and of the civilisations discovered by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, is one of great interest in connection with the general history of the diffusion of the human race. Many theories have been propounded, according to which the aboriginal Americans were autochthonous, or created in America—an immense antiquity being ascribed to the original traces of man's presence—while some have supposed the Peruvians to be an Aryan people, reaching the Pacific coast from Europe. The Spaniards themselves thought that St. Thomas from India must have reached Mexico and Peru, and thus accounted for the appearance of the Cross in America, and for other similarities in religious rites and customs.

When, however, we study the racial types, the languages, and the civilisations of America, we must conclude that an

Asiatic origin, and a connection with Mongolic races, is far more probable, especially as the distance to be traversed by sea is so much shorter. But in treating this subject two distinct questions must be distinguished: the first being the question of the aboriginal population which was everywhere found by Europeans living in a semi-savage state; and the second, the question of the origin of the two distinct civilisations which existed, in the sixteenth century in Mexico and Peru, while the remainder of the two continents was still barbarous.

As regards the origin of man in America, the existence of a very ancient race, whence the American Indians of both North and South America have descended, is generally admitted. Palæolithic arrow heads, belonging to the Quaternary strata, show a widely diffused but savage race, and rude implements are even asserted to occur in Colorado in Miocene and Pliocene strata; but the evidence requires still to be very cautiously accepted. The earliest American type was long-headed, and approaches nearest to the Turanian or Mongolic, but not to the Chinese or Mongol proper, being rather comparable to the Ugro-Altaic and Burmese, and to that of the early Dravidian races of India. Humboldt was struck, even in South America, with the Mongolic type of the natives; and the main characteristics are the same in both the American continents. The hairless faces, high cheek-bones, prognathous jaws, and even the large curved nose (common among the Kirghiz Tartars, and shewn on the old historic *bas reliefs* which represent Hittites and Akkadians) are Mongolic features. On the Pacific shores the original type is modified by an infusion of blood of some short-headed race, probably representing later elements of population. In Peru the lower class of natives had long heads, but the Incas had short heads. The Aztecs had the custom of artificially elongating the head, which is common in America and found in other parts of the world. The longest heads are found among Patagonians and Esquimaux. The prognathic jaw is not found commonly among Thibetans or Mongols, but it occurs among the Chinese. The Wakash tribes are thought to belong to the Tunguse family, and other elements of population may have come from the Aleutian

Islands, or by Behring Straits, from the north-east corner of Asia. Short heads are found in the Ohio mounds, and the later infusion of Malay, and possibly of Chinese and of Japanese stocks, appears probable.

The American languages are numerous, and vary in character, but they are in no cases inflected like Aryan or Semitic languages, and their structure is only comparable to that of the Mongolic or Turanian languages of Asia. Comparative study is rendered difficult by the rapid changes, which affect all languages where there is no literature to preserve the vocabulary. Thus in Africa, and in America, the problem is more difficult than that of Asiatic languages. But grammatical structure is always a safer guide than vocabulary, and the American languages resemble rather the agglutinative speech of Central Asia, with its long words, due to the incorporation of pronouns and particles, its absence of gender and of inflection, its vowel harmonies, its reduplications representing plurals, and its distinctive syntax, than they do when compared with the more advanced Aryan and Semitic tongues. Classification is still very imperfect, but comparative study has already shewn that the classes are fewer and less distinct than used to be supposed. In North and Central America Bancroft recognised three classes, the Tinneh family on the North-West, the Aztek in Mexico, and the Maya. The Otomi language is said to differ from others in being more clearly monosyllabic, and comparable in many features of grammar to the Chinese. The Aztek, though perhaps the most perfect of American tongues, does not distinguish the letters *b d f r g s*, and has no gender or inflexions. All these features also mark the Mongolic languages. The Pima in California is said to present fifteen per cent. of Malay words, but none that are Chinese or Japanese. The Quichuan, which is the classic tongue of South America, presents the same agglutinative features, and the case in favour of a Mongolic connection is therefore strong.

The comparative vocabularies published by Mr. R. P. Greg*

* *Comparative Philology of the Old and New Worlds*, by R. P. Greg. London, 1893.

are of great interest in this study. A list may here be given of about an hundred words generally common to North, Central, and South American languages, with comparisons with Mongolic words taken from his pages. In dealing with modern languages there is no doubt a danger that loan words may have travelled far from one people to another, but the words which compare are as a rule those denoting the simplest objects and acts, and they shew us a savage people living in the condition of hunters or pastoral herdsmen. The comparisons do not indicate a Chinese origin, but are generally closest to the dialects of Central Asia and of Siberia, though some words are so widely diffused that they occur also in the Indo-Chinese languages, in Thibetan, and in the Dravidian dialects of India.

Among the words here given we find several to denote house, boat, axe, knife, bow, arrow, stone, and fire; but the only metal which has a common name is gold (N. American *ccaxi*, Central American *chuqui*, South American *ccaxi*), and this seems to be a later native word. Among animals the bear is specially to be noted, with various names for the dog. The original Americans appear to have recognised family relations, and had several words for God or Spirit. Their languages had advanced to the use of pronouns, but their general condition was that of hunters, sowing a little corn, and fishing in boats. They knew of cold and snow, and may have come in their skiffs from Asia, but used probably only stone weapons and bows. They were in fact in that condition of progress in which they were found still living, in North America, by the first colonists.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY.

	North American.	Central American.	South American.	Mongolic.
House,	Ko Uca	Ku Oigu	Ku Uca	Keni
„	In Ank	Ngu	In Ngu	Ion
„	Hi Ho	Hu U	Hi I	Hu Ui
„	Dum Dimi	—	Dum Tan	Tami
„	Kotai	Goti	Hit	Kat
Stone,	Tak	Tek	Tika	Tash
„	Kuk	Kak	Kak	Koch

Stone,	Sileh	—	Silla	Zela
Mountain,	Tipi	Tepe	—	Tepe
"	Ku Kaak	Kauah	Kakka	Kai, Kgi
Great,	Muck	Noh	Makh	Magh
"	—	Pacha	Pacha	Paka
Tree,	Kagg	Kagg	Khoka	Aghagh
Boat,	Kayak	—	Kao	Kaiyik
Axe,	Tuk	Tek	Taqui	Taka
Knife,	Akyek	Hasha	Chuki	Chucky
"	Kiai	Quai	Kiai	Kao
Bow,	Nama	—	Mumute	Numu
"	Siiia	Za	Za	Zaa
Arrow,	Sua	Tzuh	Suu	Sawa
Dark,	Kaak	Akakka	Coca	Gigi
Bad,	Kaka	Ukku	Akaka	Haica
Fish,	Kanu	—	Kanu	Kan
Dog,	Achu Shue	Ochu	Huchute	Ku Schey
"	Puka	Pek	Puku	Betka
"	Keikue	Chiki	Kukui	Kaik
Bird,	Kuku	Kukai	Huku	Kush
Pig,	Cuchi Ak	Ak	Kuch	Gachi
Deer,	Taick	Kweh	Guaca	Kayik
Bear,	Matto Mavar	—	Mari	Medve Mar
Corn,	Sigi	Saxi	Zaxi	Suk
Salt,	Shukosh	—	Sachi	Saksi
Snow, Ice,	Tek Toosha	Istek	—	Tek Tosh
Foot,	Ooch	Uoc	Kayu	Ayak
Hand,	Paco	Maco	Paco	Baog
Finger,	Ka	Ca	Ka	Ki
Nose,	Uk	Gu	Cana	Ang
Ear,	Gyu	—	Huchu	Kuo
Tongue,	Del	—	Del	Dil
Hair,	Oshu	Si	Zye	Usha
"	Shuka	Soz	Socco	Shag
"	Thaesh	Tusu	—	Thaash
Head,	Ca	Que	Gue	Go
"	Pah Biza	Pacu	Pacu	Bash
"	Iku	Akang	Yakae	Yok
Tooth,	Itza	Tzi	Dza	Tez
"	Tong	Tollau	Tullu	Tang
Mouth,	Ku	Ku	—	Ko
"	Sana	—	Sane	Sun
Eye,	Asu	Siki	Zu	Sei
"	Na	Nik	Na	Na
Man,	Er	—	Urre	Ere

Man,	Cune	Akun	Canai	Kena
"	Ka	Ka	Che	Aika
"	Hama	Huema	Huema	Him
Son,	Saka	Chichi	Chechu	Chuken
"	Cui	Gua	Ciu	Chu
"	Cin	Akun	Cana	Ken
Father,	It. Ose	Aitze	Aha	Atya Isa
"	Tata	Tatle	Tayta	Tato
"	Aya	—	Aya	Aya
"	Appa	Aba	Pai	Ab
Mother,	Ma Anna	Maa	Meme Anu	Ema Ana
Woman,	Sun Tan	Dome	Zumo	Zin
God,	Ata	Teo	Ati (Chinese)	Ti
"	Ogha	Ogha	—	Agha
"	Hun	—	Ken	Jin
"	U Yeh	Ku	Huai	Yo Yahu
"	Niou	—	Ano	In Na
Daylight,	Tina	Tani	—	Tan
"	Caan	Chaan	Kin	Kun
"	Sua	Tse	Sua	Si
"	Ara	—	Ara Uru	Or
"	Ene	Andi	Ano Inti	In
"	Tak Teshe	Te	Tagg	Tawaash
Sky,	Kegek	Quik	Kecai	Kueuk
Sun,	Kon	Kin	Kin	Khon
"	Sohn	—	Suna	Shun
"	Suus	—	Suus	Susi
"	Kese	Cha	Cachi	Kaisa
Star,	Tsohol	Sillo	Silla Tysel	Tysil
Moon,	Aguei	Chic	Yace	Ike
"	Nosi	Masa	Masa	Mah
"	Ari Bari	Bari	Ari	Ira
Fire,	Koh Iche	Cha	Iakai	Kuy
"	Tetsch Tah	Tata	Tesha	Tuz Tet
"	Teik	Tschuko	Taika	Togo
Water,	Dzu Du	Du	Dzu Du	Zu To
"	Ia Ui	A Aya	Aah Ui	Ai Wa
To cut,	Kut	Kuta	Kut	Ket Kes
To give,	Da	Da	—	Da
"	Kia Chu	Caa	Ku	Ka
I,	Noka	Nek	Noka	Ngai
"	Si Di	De	Su	Si
Thou,	Zu Ts	Ti	—	Su Ti
He,	Na	Nunu	Ni	Na
This,	Huen	Quin	Kim	Kan

With respect to this list it should be noted that a large proportion of the words are very ancient, and occur in the oldest known Mongolic language—the Akkadian of Mesopotamia,* yet the American tribes were apparently offshoots, not directly of that civilized race, but of the rude tribes of Siberia, which had either never learned the arts of the Akkadians, or had lost them as they migrated to wilder lands, remote from the original home of the Mongolic races near the Caspian.

When we continue the enquiry, in the case of words which are not common to the whole range of American languages, we still find that comparisons of vocabulary are more common when the Ugro Altaic, or North Mongolic languages, are used as a basis; and the Aryan languages furnish no comparisons; the Chinese in some cases comes however nearest to the American. The following important words widely spread in North America are very closely like those used by Altaic Turanians in Asia.

	North American.	Ugro Altaic.
Land,	mah amet	ma modu
„	ti tu	da
Tree,	kan	kona, kanu
„	tsa	sa
„	pichu	posu
Knife,	pesh	beechak
„	seepa	sapa
Axe,	sku'n	suka
Arrow,	skui	sogau
Fish,	gat	kata
Snake,	osheista	eshdissa
Dog,	cannu	kon
„	meda	meda
Bird,	mon	motun
Sheep,	una	unet
Deer,	addik	teke
Hare.	yo	(Chinese) yu

* Compare for instance the Akkadian words for 'house' *un*, *ki*, *tami*: 'stone' *tak*: 'great' *makh*: 'dark' *gig* (also 'bad' 'ill'): 'fish' *kha kha*: 'bird' *kus*: 'head' *ca*: 'mouth' *gu*: 'eye' *si*: 'man' *eri*, *gan*, *gum*: 'son' *sak*: 'father' *ai*, *ab*: 'mother' *ene*: 'God' *An*: 'day' *tan*: 'sky' *gug*: 'sun' *shun*: 'moon' *agu*: 'water' *a*: 'give' *de*: 'I' *anga*: 'thou' *zi*: 'he' *na*: 'this' *gan*.

Bear,	matto	medve
"	moan	maina
"	sus	saks
Fox,	chula	koll
Seed,	sum	so
Milk,	chychtya	shiut
Egg,	manig	manu
Ice,	ak	yig
Snow,	kais	kaisa
"	speu	buss
Foot,	kolo	kol
"	looga	llagyl
Mouth,	an im	an ama
God,	man	man
"	u yet	ye
Silver,	shuney	(Chinese) shen
Clothes,	togai	tug
War,	gawi	cooha

In numerals the North American languages differ much, but the commonest words for numbers seem also to indicate an Ugro Altaic connection.

Number.	North American.	Ugro Altaic.
1	ak, ik, cau	aku
2	ako	iki
3	{ taugh katsa	{ touga kudem
4	taeto	thett
5	tawit, etsha	vit
6	sih	hat
7	siete, tutsheos	sat seitaa

Up to No. 5 the resemblances are striking, but the numerals for 8, 9, 10, do not shew any remarkable resemblance. The Azteks, as will appear later, had words for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and formed the rest by compound words denoting additions.

Not only was the common word for boat in America of Mongolic origin, but the words for the sea in North America shew the same connection. The commonest word for sea among the Aryans and West Asiatics is *mār*, which perhaps means 'great water,' (Sanskrit *mira*, Latin *mare*, Slav *moray*, Celtic *mara*, Teutonic *meer*, Finnic *mar*, Altaic *meri* and *mora*, Lapp *mār*, perhaps the same as the Mongol *nor*), but this word

does not apparently occur in America. The Malay, Polynesian, and Australian languages are connected together by another word for sea (Malay *atui*, Polynesian *tai*, Australian *tan*), and the languages of Polynesia and Australia generally compare closely with the Malay. In North America there are many words which as a rule only mean 'waters,' or 'great water'; but some are more distinctive, such as *ta* 'sea,' which is the same as the Corean *ta*; and *vaat* 'sea,' which compares with the Ugro Altaic *vat* or *vut* for 'water' 'sea.' In South America on the other hand we find the word *atun* for the sea apparently of Malay origin.

The indications afforded by such words point to the derivation of the North American Indians from the nearest part of North-east Asia. The tribes which crossed over the narrow straits were in the primitive condition of pastoral hunters. They knew the sheep among domestic animals, but were probably unable to bring cattle with them. They were perhaps acquainted with corn, as well as milk, and they knew the bear, and came from a region where ice and snow were found. The word for silver compares with the Chinese, and is probably of later origin. The numerals, also, though they compare only with the Ugro Altaic, do not seem to have been named beyond 'five.' The words compared for numerals do not in any case recall the vocabulary of any Aryan race.

In South and Central America there are indications, already noticed, that the same northern race penetrated to the extreme end of the continent, but there are also indications of later arrivals from the Malay peninsula. Numerals are the most valuable words for comparison, because the most distinctive of various classes of language. The Otomi numerals, in Central America, seem to show a connection with Mongolic systems, both Ugro-Altaic and Indo-Chinese, though in most cases these are not very close. The Otomi No. 1 is, however, nearest to the Dravidian *onru*, 'one.'

No. 1	Otomi.	Ugro Altaic.	Indo Chinese.
2	nura	—	—
3	zooko	kok	kichi
4	hui	uitae	—
	gooho	ngy	hichi

5	gyta	wit	ngat
6	rahti	hat	re
7	yotho	yedi	tsit
8	hyate	dsghat	thata
9	gythe	gessu	acu

Dissimilar as these may appear, they are closer than any other comparisons with existing numeral systems.

The Aztek system in Mexico included only numerals to 'five,' and these compare with other widely-spread Ugro Altaic words for numbers as far as 'four.'

	Aztek.	Ugro Altaic.
No. 1	ce	aku
2	ume	unem
3	ye	uitse
4	nahui	negy
5	chicu	—

In South America the Quichuan being the most important language, it is interesting to find, in some cases, similar Mongolic comparisons, especially pointing to the northern branch.

	Quichuan.	Ugro Altaic.
No. 1	huk	huca aku
2	yskuy	yike
3	kunsa	kudem
4	tahua	thett
5	picka	besh
6	sokta	kaht
7	kancis	seitsi
8	pussak	sekis
9	yskun	wexum
10	cunka	kamen

These must be taken for what they are worth, but it is conceivable that the two systems may have a common origin, and neither bears any resemblance to the Aryan system common to all European languages of that class.

Before considering the later civilisations of America it is necessary to glance at the early civilisation of Eastern Asia, in order to appreciate the conditions which existed when first the historic races can be supposed to have come into communication with the New World. The oldest civilisation of Asia was that of the Akkadians, whose language (including the numerals) is most closely represented by the Turkish

dialects of the region north of the Oxus. The Akkadians had a complete system of syllabic writing, originating in picture emblems, and they possessed the lunar calendar of twelve months, which was adopted by the Babylonians and the Greeks. It is now very generally recognised that the earlier tribes of India—preceding the Aryans—were akin to these Mesopotamian Mongols, but no known remains of their civilisation have been recognised. The Turko-Mongol tribes, however, who were certainly akin to the Akkadians, spread into Central Asia, where the Khitai were established in the time of the geographer Ptolemy. These latter invaded China, and brought with them a considerable civilisation including a system of writing. The distinctive Chinese system, which is traced back to about 800 B.C., presents many comparisons with other Asiatic systems, but these are only pictorial, and there is so much that is distinctive in the Chinese hieroglyphic writing that a direct derivation from the Akkadian becomes untenable. Only a very remote original connection can at most be supposed.

On the extreme north the Siberian tribes appear never to have been civilised, and in China itself the population was, from an early period, extremely mixed, many barbarous tribes being gradually conquered by the Khitai and the Mongols, while other elements of population entered China from the west through Thibet, and from the south through Burmah and the Malay peninsula. The Malays were a great sea-going race; and the communication between China and Arabia, in the Roman ages, may in great measure have been due to the boldness of the Malay sailors, who also appear to have populated the Polynesian islands, and to have found their way to Australia, as is very distinctly shewn by the comparison of numerals and of vocabulary as a whole.

But the civilisation of India and of the Malay peninsula was not of Mongol origin. It commenced with the establishment of the Greeks in India and in Bactria. It was fostered by the early Buddhists, from the third century B.C. onwards. It was also partly dependent on the Arabs of Yemen, who, even earlier than the Greek period, seem to have been in communi-

cation with Ceylon and India. The astronomy, and especially the calendar, of India was of Greek origin, and Indian architecture is in the same manner based originally on Greek art.

About the sixth century A.D. the Nestorians began to push their way from Persia into Central Asia and Mongolia, penetrating at last even into China. They found the Mongols mainly pagan, but a debased form of Buddhism had also begun to spread among them from India. The Mongol alphabet is of Nestorian origin, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Central Asia was full of European traders. The great Mongol period was that of the successors Genghiz Khan, whose wide empire extended from India to Siberia, and from the borders of Persia to China. The accounts left to us by Rubruquis, Marco Polo, and other travellers, attest the statesmanship and energy of the Mongols, and their mixed civilisation of Buddhist and Christian derivation. The whole empire was bound together by a postal system, which brought news from its furthest provinces to the distant capital at Karakorum, north of China; and the wealth and magnificence of the Khan's Court were astonishing. The tolerance of this great ruler, and of his splendid grandson Mangu Khan, was equally remarkable, and it was not till the later age of Timur that the savage cruelties, which marked the Mongol devastation of Western Asia, led to the revolt of subject peoples, and to the decay of the Tartar power.

Meanwhile in Thibet the corrupt Buddhism of the later Indian schools had already penetrated into the mountain plateau about 640 A.D. The Indian origin is clearly traceable, but it is not impossible that some of the strange similarities to Christian ritual—the use of robes including the mitre, of incense, rosaries, bells, crosses, and holy water, may have been due to the Nestorian influence. Missionaries from the Roman empire penetrated to these regions in 635 A.D., and the Edict of Si-ngan-fu, by the Chinese Emperor Tetsung, which has been found near the east border of Thibet dates from about 780 A.D.* Abu Zeid el Hasan, in the ninth century A.D., speaks

* See *Buddhism of Tibet*, L. A. Waddell. 1895, p. 422. Yule's *Marco Polo*, II., p. 23.

of thousands of Christians massacred in China—the south-west provinces—and Marco Polo in the thirteen century found Nestorians north of Yunnan. There were then 30,000 Alans in the Mongol Empire who were Christians, and the Buddhist lamas were familiar with Christian rites and emblems from the seventh century onwards. In Thibet while propagating the later Indian Tantric Buddhism, and even preserving much of the original ethics and philosophy of Buddha, they also permitted the survival of the older savage demonolatry of the country, and added to it much that, in India, was derived from the older Non-Aryan systems. They divided the cycle of existence into six states including heaven, the paradise of the inferior gods, the animal creation, hell, the Hades of starving ghosts, and the human life. Through these six states the soul passed successively in an eternal progress, unless attaining to Nirvana. Their religious system included establishments of monks, hermits, and nuns. They drew terrible pictures of demon guardians on the outer walls of their temples, and recognised all the fabulous beings of India, Nagas, Yakshas, Ghandarvas, Asuras, Garudas, etc., with Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, and Agni. Their astronomy was that derived from Greece by India, but they possessed the Tartar cycles of 12 and 60 years, and intercalated 7 months in 19 lunar years. They practised both cremation and burial, and burned a lay figure of the deceased on the 49th day, at the close of the funeral ceremonies. Among their emblems the 'wheel of the law,' or *Swastika*, was one of great antiquity, and found in all parts of the world. Their festivals were remarkable for the masquerades, in which actors assumed the appearance of demons with enormous heads and grinning mouths. Human sacrifice and cannibalism existed in Thibet in the seventh century, A.D., but as Buddhism spread a figure of dough was substituted for the human victim. The morsels of this figure, torn in pieces by masks representing bull-headed and deer-headed fiends, were distributed among the crowd. All these customs still survive on the borders of India.

The Tantric Buddhism so described existed not only in Thibet but in China and Mongolia, in Burmah, and the Malay

peninsula, and islands. The reasons for thus describing the civilisation of India and Mongolia, and the character of the religion which spread over Eastern Asia to the Pacific shores, will appear when the Azteks and Incas are considered immediately. The history of hieroglyphic systems in China is also important in the same connection, for there is no trace of any hieroglyphic character in India, or in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, where alphabets of western origin were adopted. The florid ornamentation of Malay temples, built in Java and on the main land, and the structure of the topes there found, all point to the Indian origin of this civilisation; but as Buddhism advanced to China the character of its rites and art became further degraded, by the extravagances of Chinese heathenism and pictorial style; and while little survived of the philosophy and humane scepticism of the original religion, little also was left to mark the remote classic origin of architecture and sculpture. The only direct communication of America with any Asiatic civilisation must have been with the deformed Buddhism of the Eastern shores.

We may therefore pass on to consider the earliest known discovery of America by Buddhist travellers*: for there appears to be no reason to suspect the truth of the account given by Hwui-Shan, who came back to China in 499 A.D., under the Tey dynasty, having sailed a distance of 32,000 *li* east, to the Fu-sang country. He first describes the Aleutian Islands, north-east of Japan, and then apparently the Alaska tribes. The distances to Fu Sang point approximately to the position of Mexico. The country was named from the Fu Sang trees, like bamboos, noticed with a red fruit like a pear: the fibre was used for cloth. The agave seems to be intended, which has sprouts not unlike the bamboo. The red pear-like fruit may be that of the cactus in Mexico. The agave has a fibre from which cloth is spun. The houses in Fu Sang were of wood and no citadel or walled tower existed. The people had a written character, and used paper made from the *fusang*, which recalls the agave papyrus of Mexico. They were un-

* See *An Inglorious Columbus*. E. P. Vining. 1885.

warlike people and had no weapons. In the north was a prison for minor offenders, in the south one for more important criminals. This also points to the Mexican polity. When a noble was condemned to punishment he was shut up in a hollow tomb and surrounded with ashes. In Mexico the criminal left to die at the stake was, in like manner, surrounded with ashes. Crimes were visited on descendants to the third and seventh generation in Fu Sang. In Mexico the children of traitors were enslaved to the 9th generation. In Fu Sang nobles were called *Tuilu*, and the second order of nobles 'the little *Tuilu*.' In Mexico the title of the nobles is variously given as *Tecleh-tli* and *Teule-tli*, and a lesser order were called 'Little Chiefs.' The Fu Sang king went in procession preceded and followed by horns and drums. In Mexico the chiefs were accompanied by horns and drums, and large sea shells were blown. The Fu Sang monarch, in the first and second years of the cycle of ten years, wore blue or green, in the third and fourth he wore red, in the fifth and sixth yellow, in the seventh and eighth white, in the ninth and tenth black. In Mexico these five colours in like manner distinguished the years. Large cattle horns are noticed in Fu Sang, and in Mexico the buffalo horns were used for drinking vessels. The pilgrim speaks of carts drawn by horses, cattle, and deer. The Mexicans had no horses or cows, but they had deer; and, as Hwui Shan says, that the Fu Sang people raised deer as cattle were bred in China, he seems to recognise this, and to refer to the tame deer and large deer forests of the Mexican nobles. The inhabitants had no iron, but plenty of copper in Fu Sang, and did not value gold or silver. The Mexicans also had no iron, but much copper. They had a great quantity of gold and silver, but did not use either for money. Among the customs of the Fu Sang people the pilgrim notes that a lover would erect a hut outside the girl's home, and sweep and sprinkle the ground for a year. The girl could dismiss him afterwards if unwilling. The marriage ceremonies resembled those of China. Among the Apache Indians similar courtship occurs, and the newly wedded pair live in a cabin before the father's house for the first year. It is also to be noted that

similar customs existed among the early Chinese tribes. The Fu Sang people mourned during stated times for various relations, as did also the Mexicans. They set up an image of the deceased, and poured libations before it noon and eve. This was also a Mongolic custom in Thibet and China, and in Yucatan wooden statues of parents were placed in oratories, while the statue of a Mexican king was adorned with offerings of clothes, food, and jewels. Hwui Shan concludes his account by stating that these people had been ignorant until visited by five Buddhist Bikshus in 458 A.D., who are said to have come from *Kipin* or Cabul, in Afghanistan. He also speaks of a country, 1000 li east of Fu Sang, called the 'Country of Women,' where a fair, long-haired race lived, who fled from strangers. He may refer to *Clhuatlan*, 'the place of women,' on the Pacific coast ten days journey from Mexico.

This interesting account, as explained by Mr. Vining, would thus appear to give a faithful picture of Mexican life about 500 A.D., and contains indications, not only of the Buddhist origin of Mexican civilisation half a century earlier, but also of the Mongolic customs of the people so civilised. When we compare this account with the existing remains of Yucatan,* and with Spanish accounts of the Azteks in the sixteenth century A.D., we find further reasons for believing the truth of Hwui Shan's account.

As regards existing remains, the temples of Central America, rising in steps to a building above, bear a striking resemblance to the Buddhist topes, especially to those of Java and the Malay peninsula; and the florid art of the statues is equally like that of the same Asiatic region. The hieroglyphic character does not recall any of the syllabaries of Western Asia. It is clearly ideographic, and few symbols are repeated, except certain strokes and dots added to the left of the emblems, which appear to denote terminations of words. The inscriptions of Palenque are in the same character used in Aztek MSS. The writing may have been in horizontal lines, but in some cases it is vertical. There is no system known which,

* *Central America.* J. L. Stephens. 1841.

in general character, bears as close a relation to the Aztek as does the Chinese; and if the inscriptions ever come to be read (the language being known) it will probably be by aid of the oldest Chinese hieroglyphics—the seal character. The evidence of Hwui Shan would point to this having been introduced from Mongolia, or Central Asia, into Mexico by Buddhists in the fifth century A.D.

At Copan, on the borders of Honduras, one of the pyramid temples is adorned with a row of sculptured skulls, and this symbol of sacrifice and death was derived originally from the terrible symbolism of India by the Eastern Asiatics. At Palenque the kings, standing on slaves, are represented with long pig-tails, like the Mongols, who introduced this custom into China. Terrible masks, like those noticed in Thibet, are represented. The winged sun is also a Mexican emblem, and one widely spread in Asia. The use of stucco for these bas-reliefs also recalls the Buddhist art of Eastern Asia. The 'lion throne' on which Buddha sat is represented at Palenque on the east border of Mexico, and a figure carrying a child recalls perhaps the mother goddess of Eastern Asia. The cross is represented as an object of worship; but the cross was an Indian and a Buddhist emblem. The figures are beardless and of Mongolic type; and Herera speaks of the Azteks as a beardless people, who wore their hair long and coiled up, with a pig-tail hanging behind.

Humboldt, who was struck with the Mongolic type of the American Indians, collected many important indications of their Asiatic connection. He pointed to the monastic institutions, symbols, etc., but especially to the Mexican zodiac, as compared with that of Thibet and the Manchu Tartars:—

Tartar Signs.			Mexican Signs.
Rat,	...	...	Water.
Ox,	...	...	Sea monster.
Tiger,	...	...	Tiger (ocalot).
Hare,	...	...	Hare.
Dragon,	...	...	Serpent.
Serpent,	...	...	Reed.
Horse,	...	...	Flint knife.
Goat,	...	...	Sun's path.

Monkey,	...	...	Monkey.
Bird,	...	...	Bird.
Dog,	...	...	Dog.
Hog,	...	...	House.

The variations are equally remarkable with the coincidences. The Mexicans had no oxen or horses, and probably no hogs or goats. The signs were therefore changed in these cases, probably by the teachers who introduced the Tartar calendar.

Mr. Vining has given a useful *resumé* of the customs and other details which connect Mexican civilisation with that of China, Japan and Mongolia. Among their religious ideas were the transmigration of souls, monastic life, penances, ablutions, alms, the use of household gods, the festivals, the knowledge of astronomy or astrology, the cloistered virgins, the dragon standard, and a kind of heraldry as among the Japanese. They also used incense, charms, amulets, and chants, like the Buddhists, and burned the dead, preserving the ashes in vases. The clothes of bride and bridegroom were tied together, but they lived apart for the first four days. Both these customs are found among the Hindus.

Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico** gives other indications of this connection. The four cycles of Mexico, in which the earth is successively destroyed by each of the four elements, answer to the Indian Kalpas, carried to Thibet and East Asia by the Tantric Buddhists. The dead were buried in a sitting posture, which is also an Indian custom. The mitre-like crown of an Aztek monarch recalls the Buddhist mitres—perhaps borrowed from the Nestorians; and the armour of quilted cotton is equally suggestive of that worn by the Mongols in the Middle Ages. The helmets made to resemble the heads of wild animals recall Chinese and Japanese helmets, intended to terrify the enemy. Baptism, confession, and absolution were customs common to Azteks and Buddhists; and, like Mongols, they believed in 'one god by whom we live,'—an expression used also by Mangu Khan in the thirteenth century in speaking to Rubruquis. But, as among Mongols, this belief in a supreme god, who knew all things

* *Conquest of Mexico*. W. H. Prescott. New edition, 1878.

and gave all gifts, incorporeal and invisible, perfect in goodness and purity, 'under whose wings is a sure defence,' was accompanied by the worship of inferior deities, chief of whom, among Aztecs, ranked the terrible war god, to whom human victims were offered in hecatombs. They also believed in three future states—hell, hades, and heaven, answering to three of the six conditions of existence among Tantric Buddhists. Paper charms were strewn on the corpse, as in China they are burned at a funeral. The soul was conceived to make a long journey to the North, and to pass between mountains which, moving together, crush the suffering shade; this was a feature also of the Lama's hell. Every year the ghost returned to the family, recalling the Buddhist yearly feast of the dead. A green stone was buried with the corpse, as jade is buried with the dead in China. The children sacrificed for rain were eaten by Aztec worshippers, but such sacrifices were unknown to the milder Toltecs who preceded them. They possessed also a custom of 'eating god,' in the form of a dough image, which recalls that already noticed in Thibet. They spoke of this world's wealth as an 'illusory shadow,' in the language of original Buddhism; and mendicant pilgrims came to visit the shrine where first the foreign teacher of Aztec tradition had taught religion and arts, just as Buddhists visited the sacred land of their faith in Northern India.

Mexican traditions spoke of more than one such teacher. Quetzalcoatl entered Mexico from the east. He wore a long sleeved robe with crosses on it, and a mitre like that of the lamas of Thibet. He taught various penances and ascetic customs, and is said to have introduced the calendar. In his time various artisans disembarked in the north at Panuco, including jewellers, smiths, architects, painters, and sculptors, with agriculturists. His assistants could cast metals, and engrave gems. Cukulcan, another teacher, came to Yucatan from the west, with nineteen companions, who were bearded and long-robed. They introduced a written character, and forbade human sacrifice. They taught the duty of confession, and finally disappeared and were deified. After them the rulers who followed made roads, palaces, temples, schools,

almshouses, retreats for widows and orphans, inns, baths, and ponds. The Chilan Balam, or Sacred Book of Yucatan, reckoned back to the second century A.D., or according to another calculation to 583 A.D.

The civilisation so introduced among the peaceable Toltecs was, in time, developed by the Aztecs, though the religion of the country decayed, and human sacrifice was reestablished. The Aztecs are reported by the Spanish writers to have been able to cast metals, and to have understood the art of enamelling and of lacquer, they used jade and glazed terra cotta, as in Japan and China, and had tessellated pavements. Their lake dwellings on piles resembled those of Eastern Asia, and they had regular posting houses on the high roads like the Mongols. The American legends included that of the Deluge whence Coxcox and his wife escaped in a boat to a mountain, sending out a dove, as shewn on ancient paintings. The Flood story is also found in the high plateau of the Andes, where Tezpi is said to have sent forth a vulture and a humming bird from his boat, in which he preserved many animals. The humming bird brought back a twig in its beak. An Aztec picture represented a single tree in a garden, round which was coiled a human-headed snake. At Cholula giants are said to have begun a tower which the gods destroyed by fire. These legends are traceable to Mesopotamia, but they were known also to Indians, Mongols, and the Chinese. The Flood story is preserved in an Indian Purana, and in Chinese tradition, as well as in Persia; and the Persians, Indians, and Chinese all possessed legends of a paradise garden.

Among other points of comparison may be mentioned the suspension bridges of the Aztecs, resembling those of India and Eastern Asia. The king was also called the child of the sun and earth—a Mongol idea. The Aztec calendar consisted of twenty months of 18 days, with four weeks of 5 days, and an extra week of unlucky days. In every cycle of 52 years 13 days were intercalated. This calendar was reformed in 1091 A.D. The astrological year, with months of 13 days, is comparable to the vague year which, in a sothic cycle of 1491 years, returned to its starting point. These ancient systems,

originating in Chaldea, spread eastwards in Asia, and appear to have been introduced by Buddhist ascetics into America. The pantomimic dances of the Aztecs, with their masks, like heads of birds and beasts, also recall those of Tantric Buddhism already noticed. The Toltecs came into Mexico from the north probably about 650 A.D., and spread abroad during the four following centuries, till dispersed by famine. The Aztecs followed about 1196 A.D., entering Tula north of the Mexican valley; and in 1325 A.D. they settled south-west of the Lake of Mexico. Dialects resembling the Aztec language have been found in New Spain, a thousand miles north of Mexico, and a similar architecture is here said to be traceable. The existing skulls of the more civilised race are said to resemble those of the eastern Tartars.

The numerals of the Aztec language have been mentioned. The language was not a Chinese dialect though it possessed no letter *r*, which occurs in Mongolian and Japanese, but not in Chinese. The general character of the grammar is more akin to that of eastern Tartar dialects. Its greatest peculiarity was the affix *tl* to nouns. The numerals are nearest to the Ugro Altaic or North Turanian. A few words may be compared with Mongolic words, as examples of possible comparative study.

Aztek,	<i>Teo</i> 'god,'	-	-	Chinese <i>ti</i> .
„	<i>To</i> 'mother,'	-	-	Dravidian <i>tay</i> .
„	<i>Calli</i> 'house,'	-	-	Altaic <i>kalle</i> .
„	<i>Cu</i> 'lord,'	-	-	Chinese <i>chu</i> .
„	<i>Mez</i> 'moon,'	-	-	Malay <i>masi</i> .
„	<i>Canoa</i> 'boat,'	-	-	„ <i>chuma</i> .

Words like these seem to point to a later condition of language in Eastern Asia, and to a more southerly origin than that of the original American race.

The general result of these comparisons tends to show that the Mexican races were of East Asiatic origin, but that the civilisation introduced in the 5th century was foreign, and due to the energy of the Tantric Buddhist missionaries, at a time when Buddhism had spread very widely in Eastern Asia, and when trade and navigation were boldly prosecuted. It

remains to consider the civilisation of Peru under the Incas, which, though presenting many similarities to that of the Aztecs, was in other respects distinct, and superior to Mexican conditions.

The Incas traced to a mythical pair representing the Sun and Moon—a married brother and sister who drove a gold wedge into the earth in Peru.* The story of the gold wedge occurs in the Persian legend of Yima, and Mongol kings traced their origin to a similar divine pair. Only thirteen Incas ruled before the Spanish Conquest in 1524 A.D., and the period is variously estimated at 200 or 550 years. The word Inca itself suggests the Tartar *un* or *unk*, 'Lord,' and their conquest must have occurred between 1000 and 1300 A.D., the period of Mongol Empire in Eastern Asia. Among their customs and institutions many recall those of Eastern Asia. They had a ceremony, when youths assumed the 'girdle,' which recalls the sacred thread of Parsees and Brahmins. They used litters in travelling, and had regular stations, called *tambos*, on the high roads. The palace was fitted with silver pipes to the baths, and had gold and silver carved objects in the gardens, just as Mangu Khan's palace at Karakorum was fitted by his French goldsmith in the 13th century. The bodies of the Incas were mummified, and seated in gold chairs. The laws were strict, and the land was held by village tenure as in India. Care was taken of the sick and aged, widows and orphans. The Peruvians knew how to spin and weave wool, and wore cotton dresses. Their country is full of the ruins of temples, palaces, forts, aqueducts, and roads. The latter were paved, and bitumen cement was used. Milestones were erected about a league apart, and suspension bridges were carried over the rivers. In the tombs of the Incas are found vessels of fine clay, gold and silver vases, bracelets, collars, utensils of copper, mirrors of silver or of hard, polished stone, and earrings in the form of wheels. Post-runners carried news along the roads between the *tambos*—ten or twelve miles apart—where military stations were established. These runners—mentioned by

* *The Conquest of Peru.* W. H. Prescott. New edition, 1888.

Herodotus in the Persian Empire—were also a feature of Mongol organisation in the 13th century A.D. By their means fish, game, and fruit were brought 150 miles in a day to the Inca's palace. The arms in use—bows, lances, darts, swords, battle-axes, slings, etc.—were of copper, or tipped with bone, iron not being used. The quilted cotton armour, noticed among the Azteks, was also used in Peru, and was, as already stated, common among Mongols.

The Peruvians had not only the Deluge story but, according to Father Charlevoix, a legend also of Virgin birth. It must not however be forgotten that the Mongol monarchs claimed descent from a Virgin mother, and the same birth was attributed to the Buddha, and to Zoroaster in Persia. The Peruvian religion recognised an immortal soul, a resurrection, and a hell in the centre of the earth, as well as a Heaven beyond the clouds. The sun was the Inca's father—as in Mexico—and worshipped by sacrifices on altars. Pilgrimages to sacred shrines, human sacrifices of children—but not, as in Mexico, accompanied by cannibal feasting—the institution of vestals, or nuns, who fed the sacred fire, and became brides of the Incas, feasts with dancing and drinking, and distribution of bread and wine, were among the religious customs. As among Mongols, there were registers of property, births, marriages, and deaths. Plays were acted, and poets composed songs. Diviners and astrologers had small repute, but augury by entrails was practised, as in Asia generally. The Peruvians had cycles of years, like the Azteks, and used gnomon stones to correct the calendar. They lamented (like Indians and Chinese) the occurrence of eclipses, and watched the planet Venus. They had a calendar of twelve months, and divided the month into weeks. This calendar is remarkable as being almost identical with the old Asiatic zodiac, which, as already stated, reached India from Greece.

	Peru.	Greek.
April,	lamb,	ram.
May,	ram,	bull.
June,	two stars,	twins.
July,	crab,	crab.
August,	tiger,	lion.

September,	mother goddess.	virgin.
October,	crossing,	scales.
November,	pleiades,	scorpion.
December,	unknown,	archer.
January,	buck,	capricorn.
February	rain,	aquarius.
March,	unknown,	fishes.

The custom of inaugurating the ploughing season, by use of a gold plough driven by the Inca, was also a Mongol custom. The Peruvians had silver balances, and were in this respect apparently in advance of the Aztecs. They had idols, some of which, still extant, resemble those of Eastern Asia. They used the indigenous transport by llamas and vicunas, instead of camels, and the wool of the alpaca, cattle being unknown.

It is thought that the Incas had no literary character, using only the *Quipu*, which consisted of coloured threads with knots—a system chiefly applicable to registers and short messages, white signifying 'silver' or 'peace,' red 'war,' and yellow 'gold;' but in the museum at Cusco* a sixteenth century MS. appears to indicate the native system of writing used before the Conquest. The Aztek character, as already noticed, was ideographic and not syllabic, and in its general appearance—especially the square and equal forms of the emblems—approaches most closely to the Chinese; but the Peruvian character seems to have been a syllabary of about 100 signs, often repeated and quite different to the Aztek. Among these emblems is found the cross—as in Central America; and on Peruvian pottery, as well as among the Lengua tribes of North America, and in the mounds of Yucatan, the *Swastika* or 'croix cramponée' occurs. This ancient emblem was much used by Buddhists, to represent the 'wheel of the Law,' and wherever the Bikshus travelled they carried with them this remarkable symbol, which however does not occur on the MS. in question in Peru. The grinning mask of the Tantric Buddhists, mentioned in Mexico, is also found in Peru. Among the Peruvian hieroglyphics one of the most

* Wiener. *Peru et Bolivie*, p. 775.

distinctive is a kind of tree; and the legend of the sacred tree, by which heaven was reached, is found in Paraguay as well as in India and China, in Persia, and even among the Maoris.

These indications point to a separate civilisation in South America, which may have been introduced as late as the thirteenth century A.D. The skulls of the Incas are said to resemble those of Burmans rather than of Mongols; and Malay enterprise may have carried the conquerors over the Pacific. In New Grenada, close to the equator, a legend referred to the arrival from the East of a stranger called Bochica, (probably Pachcheko or 'Saint') who taught chastity and abstinence. He, too, may have been a Buddhist missionary, reaching the plateau of the Andes perhaps from the Toltec settlement, but by an eastern route, and bringing no doubt with him the *Swastika* found in Peru. The fact that the lion is replaced by the tiger in the Peruvian Calendar seems to point to Indian origin, unless it be due to the absence of lions in America. The ram takes the place of the bull because cattle were unknown. The Pleiades, which replace the Scorpion, were generally observed by Eastern Asiatics, and the legend of the lost Pleiad was carried by the Malays to Polynesia.

It was not surprising that the Spaniards should suppose that certain features of religion, in Mexico and in Peru, were only explicable on the theory that Christian missionaries had visited America. The Cross, the flood story, the images with rayed glories, the traditions of virgin-birth and of paradise, the use of incense, the existence of monks with shaven crowns, and of nuns, the practice of confession and penance, all recalled Christian ideas. But the Spaniards knew nothing of the history of Buddhist systems, or of the early contact of Buddhism with the Christianity of Central Asia. The civilisation of Mexico was distinct from that of Peru, but both shew more points of contact with that of Eastern Asia, and with the strange degraded Buddhism of Mongol peoples, than with any western ideas; just as the languages of America, by grammar even more distinctly than by vocabulary, are related to Mongolic speech, and have no connection with Aryan languages; or as the racial types are Tartar and Malay, and not Euro-

pean. America was so much nearer to Eastern Asia than to Europe that it is natural to suppose that it was discovered by Mongols, and by the hardy Malay sailors, long before the Atlantic was crossed with such difficulty by Columbus, and even before the Norsemen found Vineland in the far North-East.

The evidence here collected seems to shew that, at some early period, the Siberian tribes crossed over the straits, and spread gradually south even to Patagonia. That by the fifth century A.D., Buddhists from the Corea, or from China, reached Mexico, and perhaps travelled on to Peru; and that in the eleventh or twelfth century a Malay or Burmese Conquest civilised the Empire of the Incas. The study of Aztek and Peruvian hieroglyphics can thus best be prosecuted by aid of the old graphic systems of Eastern Asia, which were at most very remotely connected with the yet older hieroglyphs of Egypt, Chaldea, and Syria.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. V.—SCOTLAND UNDER THE ROUNDHEADS.

IN the last issue of the Scottish History Society's publications is included a volume of much and varied interest—*Scotland under the Commonwealth*, 1651-3. If a statue to the Lord-General should again become a question of the hour, even to the imminent peril of an English ministry, this volume ought to recommend the tardy honour, for it goes far to justify the favourable judgment on his usurpation of Scotland as 'tolerant, wise, and just.' It entirely wants the commanding personality of Cromwell himself, who finally turned his back on the Kirk and her cantankerous leaders in the early autumn of 1651, to close with Leslie and the Royalists at Worcester. But it deals with questions of considerable moment at the time, and of constitutional interest now, such as the incorporating Union of the two kingdoms, the reduction of the Highlands, and the settlement of difficult ecclesiastical, judicial, and economic pro-

blems. The sources of the narrative are the Oxford MSS. of William Clarke in Scotland, acting as secretary to Cromwell, and thereafter to his right-hand man, Monk. That office he continued to hold, till the Restoration, under the officers that succeeded Monk. The *lacunae* in Clarke's Journal have been supplied from the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian, consisting of letters to the Speaker, supplemented by news-letters of the day and intercepted Royalist correspondence.

The narrative opens with Monk's march through Fife to the reduction of Stirling Castle. He crossed the Forth, not by the bridge but at the Ford of Frew, a few miles farther up, where in the '45 Prince Charlie's men passed southward. William Cunningham, *anciente of the Castle*, gave in after a week's feeble pounding at the ramparts from the kirk steeple. The mortars proved too much for the nerves of his Highlandmen, among whom they produced a panic and mutiny. These would appear to have been the most advanced type of ordnance, worked only by Mr. Joachim Hane, the Dutch Engineer, of whom, on a later occasion, Lilburne says, writing to Cromwell, 'we have an exceeding great want. Should we have any occasion to use a mortar peece without him, there is nobody to undertake that business that is fitt for itt.' Among the spoils we find, '4 leather guns, 2 coaches and a sedan, the Earl of Murris coronet and Parliament robes.' Monk lived in the interesting old Stirling mansion, Mar's Wark, from which the Countess of Argyll had to retire during the siege, *being sik*, and there terms of capitulation were signed. The siege of Dundee, which Monk reached from Stirling by Perth, has made a profounder mark in history, for it proved a Scottish sack of Drogheda, for which the General gets off much more lightly in history than his master over the Irish affair. Hither most of the portable wealth of the country had been transported. With two wide firths between it and the Sectaries it was deemed safe. The townspeople were very confident, remembering their success in beating off Montrose, but Engineer Hane *plaid again with his mortar peece*, the troopers poured through the breaches on the east and west, 'divers of the enemy retreated to the church and steeple, and among the rest the Governour, whoe was kild with between foure and five

hundred souldyers and townsmen. The souldyers had the plunder of the town for all that day and night, and had very large prize, many inhabitantes of Edinburgh and other places having sent their ware and geere thither. Captain Eely led on the Pioneers, whoe made way for the horse, and the Lt.-Generall went in person. Our word was, God with us, and the signe a white cloath or shirt hanging out behind.' The minister of the town was among the slain. Such is the brief contemporary narrative of a massacre which great historians, like Burton and Gardiner, have disbelieved. Two days before had been enacted the Crowning Mercy of Worcester, of which Monk heard 'the happy news' here, September 9. Shortly before this (August 27) Colonel Alured accomplished his smart feat, the Raid of Alyth, and curtly tells in due course, 'From my Tent at the Leagure before Dundee,' how 'It hath pleased the Lord to give a great mercy to us,' no less indeed than the capture of the whole committee of the Scots Estates, barring two. He rode with his dragoons 'on a darke rainey night in rough and tedious way to a Towne called Ellit,' where lay the Scots Parliament, at the foot of the Sidlaws, in full security of its Highland supports. The Earls of Leven (General Leslie) and Marischal were among the batch of captives that Monk shipped off to a long captivity in the Tower, from which the old Captain of the Covenant was ultimately liberated to die in peace at his beautiful Fifeshire retreat of Balgonie. Another of the caged Scots was the notorious Lauderdale, and him we can fancy having a crack over the adventure, after the Restoration, with his companion renegade, the now glorified Duke of Albemarle. Thus was the curtain rung down on that Covenanted Republic, Carlyle's 'theocracy without the inspiration,' which Jenny Geddes and Duns Law had brought into being.

Scotland was now left to the tender mercies of that 'very precious instrument,' General Monk, unfortunately seized with a very desperate sickness after the fall of Dundee. Clarke gives him a high character in writing to Speaker Lenthall—'the most properly fitted for the management of affairs here. His temper every way fits him and none could order the Scots so handsomely as himself, he carries things with such a grace and *rigid gentle*

ness.' The Secretary writes a pretty style it must be admitted. Monk certainly lost no time in getting his men well in hand again after the sack, proclamations following, on the next day, to 'forbeare further plundering or rifling of the houses in Dundee.' Court martials severely punished offenders who had been scouring the district for plunder. For robbing two countrymen a brace of dragoons are led with ropes about their necks to the gallows, tied up, flogged with thirty stripes a piece; then on their knees they have to beg forgiveness of their victims, and restore the plunder four-fold. Others have to ride the *tree mare* for similar offences—'so severe,' says Clarke, 'is the Lt.-General and officers against injuring the countrey, to whom we endeavour to show as much favour as may be (especially to the poorer sort) to convince them of the slavery they have been under and freedom they may now enjoy under the English.'

Monk followed up his success with the reduction of the coast towns and the establishment of small garrisons. A good footing was gained as far north as Aberdeen, 'one of the richest and chiefest cities,' where the officers were handsomely entertained. No doubt both parties were anxious as to the attitude of that great scourge of the north, the Marquis of Huntly, but he proved powerless both in health and purse to interfere in the struggle. Before the renewal of active operations in the spring of 1652 Monk's weak health compelled him to retire to Bath for the waters, and Deane assumed command for a few months, but the really active officer was Lilburne. To him fell the hardest task of all, to reduce the Highlands and keep the active royalists at bay. The situation reached its acute stage in the summer of 1653, when the Roundhead government was put to the severest strain. The Dutch War absorbed its whole energies and Lilburne was in despair for men and means. One cannot but sympathise with his efforts to be honest and faithful. In a letter to Cromwell he speaks his mind—'Our want of money seemes to be an incouragement to our enimies, who conceives we are not able to subsist long at the vast charge the Commonwealth is at; the foote eate biskett and cheese on Pentland hills, and hath not money to buy them other refreshments, being now 2 months and above in arreare and our fortifications readie to stand still,

nor do I know where to gett 100l. in the treasury ; this hath bene often represented above and hinted to your Excellencie.' In the early days of the occupation the troopers had lived at free quarters on a rough system of local billeting, but latterly about £8000 a month had been uniformly levied, which sum, however, had to be largely supplemented from England. The assessments for the different shires and burghs are detailed in this volume and give a valuable indication of the economic situation. Fife and Perth head the list of the shires by a long way, then follow Aberdeen, Ayr, Midlothian and Lanark. Of the burghs, Edinburgh pays more than five times Dundee, the second on the list, closely followed by Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Perth. Rutherglen has to contribute £3 less than Rothesay, and only half the cess from the ancient burgh of Culross. From Argyle-shire Lilburne had to accept the cess in kind, cows at 26s.—28s. if fat, and trees at 4s. each if from 20—24 feet long and a foot square. Here he had an eye to the substantial forts he was constructing as at Ayr—*sconces* (Ger. *schanze*), these were called after the Dutch masters in gunnery. The term is still used in South African warfare, and is heard, in modified form, in *ensconced*. This volume corroborates the tradition that the Cromwellian rule pressed hard on the few native woods as well as the historic churches. Thus Lilburne tells Cromwell that the broken men under Glencairn and Kenmure had come down from the hills as far as Falkland and secured four or five men in charge of the timber in the park at Falkland, designed for the citadel at Perth. The meat supply was an even greater difficulty, the country was so poor. The ships had to go often to Newcastle and Hull for beef and pork ; hay and meal the country provided, but in the hills the men had to subsist on the biscuits and cheese they carried with them. In the Lowlands trade flowed on in the usual channels. Thus we find Lilburne telling Cromwell that it 'was strange that the Treasurer should hinder the return of money and put the State and the soldiers to the trouble of bringing it out from London and York in waggons when it might be almost every groat received here upon bills.'

The untiring energy displayed gives one a high idea of the

splendid stuff developed by the army of the New Model. In all directions there is the greatest activity. The mosstroopers of the Border were dragooned into decent dalesmen. The coast towns were made ready to meet the Dutchmen. Arbroath Abbey, for example, was turned into what was deemed a very tenable fort; while the Scots navy, taken in Dundee—sixty sail of 10, 6, and 4 guns—along with one that had escaped to Aberdeen, having '6 peeces, and stoare of wines and other good comodities,' were pressed into the service. To checkmate the Dutch, who set the greatest store upon the Orkneys and Shetland for the Great Fishing, Overton fortified Kirkwall, making tenable the Cathedral Kirk of St. Maans (Magnus) and the Earl of Morton's house, *where a regiment can lodge*. Lilburne, writing to Cromwell, tells how the Dutch have especially an eye upon Shetland. 'There have bin sometimes 1800 saile in and about Birssie (Bressay) Sound,' the narrowest part of which he proposes to secure with a strong fort. For a time the Lewes had been thought well worth securing, and here Cobbett worked hard at making a strength at Stornoway. It was found, however, that the course of trade did not at all lie in that direction. Montrose's destructive raid had taught the lesson that there was a real danger from Ireland through the West Highlands, where another Colkitto might any day appear; and so Ayr and Brodick, Dunstaffnage and Dunolly were strongly held. Inverness was relied upon as the chief defence for the central Highlands, and in an interesting letter we read the story of the building of a citadel and particularly of the great feat of dragging a forty ton pinnacle across six miles of dry land for service on Loch Ness, 'to the admiration of the spectators. The men broke three cables, seven inches about, with hawling of her . . . The west end of the Lough is near unto the Irish Sea, it wanting not above six mile of ground to be cut to make the shires north of it an entire island of itself.' Inverlochy, at the western side of the Great Glen, was held strongly to keep down what was the main-stay of the Royalists, the cattle-lifting caterans of Lochaber, the Macdonalds and the Camerons. The attitude of Argyll, the great leader of the Covenant and the rival of Montrose, was a constant source of anxiety. With a caution characteristic of these old times, when the head of the clan remained in one camp

while a son or brother stuck by its rival, the Marquis had frequent friendly correspondences with the Roundheads, doing them valuable service, while his son, Lorn, was a leading spirit among the Royalists. In consequence Argyllshire required constant watchfulness, and was often the scene of really plucky marchings and counter-marchings. It would be something even in these days to take, as Colonel Read did, 700 horse, dragoons and foot, from Tarbert to Dunstaffnage 'after four hard dayes march,' find no provisions there nor in Dunolly, and after a stay of two nights, 'be forced to act the King of France's part,' to face about 'and by a nearer cut return to his base.' A still more toilsome undertaking was the marching and the dragging of guns from Athole over the stiffest part of the Highlands to Inverlochry in Lochaber. Nor again was that a small feat of which we read in a Letter from Paisley, August, 1652. Here we can follow the handful of surly Roundheads as they marched from Inveraray across 'an impregnable Passe, called Glen Crow (Croe), where onely one could but file over,' for not till a century later did Lascelles' regiment make the present road. The jagged cliffs that frown upon the gloomy tarn at Rest and be Thankful, were dotted over with crowds of excited clansmen, 'to know if the E. of Argyre were our prisoner; yet God, who restrains the fury of the most savage beasts, doth also muzzle the mouthes of bloody-minded men. Wee drew up our men under their noses until our rear-guard was got over. I doubt whether these things are in order, to war with these base and beggerly wild beasts, a thing to be avoided for many reasons, especially their poverty and unaccessibleness of every passe and place, where each hill is no less than an invincible garrison.'

Worcester had proved a heavy blow to the Royalists. For some time the exiles suffered the greatest straits. But the Dutch War revived their hopes, absorbing as it did all Cromwell's energies and resources. The difficulty, however, was to find money for an expedition. Late in 1652 we have the King, *young Charles*, or *the lad* of the Roundhead letters, writing from Paris to Middleton, 'I have scarce received 200 pistoles since you went.' By the spring of 1653 everything seemed favourable for action, all the more urgent that the fall of Dunnottar, the

last of the Covenanting strengths to succumb, was imminent. Here were stored the royal plenishing and the regalia, the preservation of which forms a well-known romantic incident of the time. Agents scoured the Baltic provinces to raise money from the Scotch merchants there. One letter from a General Douglas at Stockholm breathes the most touching loyalty. In answer to His Sacred Majesty's own letter he says that all he can do 'must be in a private way; however, your goodness will not reject the harte affections of your subjects abroad, quhairoff a few with my selfe have maide boulde to send your Majeste a somme of 5200 rixdollars' through William Davidson, merchant in Amsterdam. The King himself writes, asking a loan of £300 from the Earls of Southesk and Panmure. Hyde entreats Middleton, appointed General in Scotland, 'not to be angry at the sum' he sends, 'being but £100, God knowes the King had rather give you £1000.' Middleton, originally a Fifeshire trooper in Hepburn's regiment, rose to be the King's Viceroy in Scotland with an evil reputation for rough measures and manners and drunken habits. The cruel agents of the Secret Council during the Killing Times all occur in this correspondence as working for the King—Strachan, Turner, Ballantyne, and that truculent trooper, Dalzel. Great efforts were made to secure the co-operation of the Dutch, the Royalists offering them fishing stations in the isles 'to be possessed by them forever.' All this activity resulted in the Glencairn Rising of 1653, which we can now study here in most interesting detail. There were high hopes of the Highland chiefs, with Glengarry at their head. Charles took great pains to reduce the friction of jealousy by giving the chief command to Middleton, but with little success. Lorn and Glengarry one day drew their claymores on each another. Glencairn, one of the most active leaders, was a Cunningham, an Ayrshire laird, and his henchman, that energetic raider, Kenmore, was the head of the Galloway Gordons, who took to the hills with but a hundred followers. Scott's *Lochinvar* and that stirring Jacobite March of The Fifteen, *Kenmore's on and awa!* will forever preserve the memory of the lords of the grim fortalice at the head of Loch Ken. There was no Montrose now among these leaders, and, if there had been, the Roundhead

troopers would have made his tactics impracticable. The King cheered on his followers with the sham hope of joining them, but he secretly had no wish to be up a tree again. Nothing more serious than horse-stealing was done. A slight skirmish at Aberfoyle, a Roundhead raid into Athole in which the Laird of Macnab got killed, Kenmore's futile landing in Cantire and attack on Campbeltown, then known only as Lochhead—these summed up the exploits of the Royalists; and, when Cromwell assumed the Protectorate and dismissed the Long Parliament, his officers in the north could assure him of the support of Scotland.

Lilburne's reports prove him an admirable administrator. The backbone of the rising he rightly conceives to be the bankrupt position of the gentry, impoverished by civil war and a vicious land system. To Cromwell he more than once strongly represents the situation. The creditors of the lairds were using the increased strictness and despatch of the reformed Court of Session to harass their debtors, and again and again we find Lilburne pressing them to leniency, their action driving many to the hills. To this the scarcity of money contributed. All this bears out the gloomy picture of the economic situation drawn by Baillie in his *Letters*, 'Our nobility weel near all are wracked,' and accounts for the exaggerated strain of Glencairn's appeal to the United Provinces, how 'the cry of our blood hath reached to Heaven, soe we doe not at all doubt but the extremities of the Earth are acquainted with the horrid actings of those men of blood,' the Roundheads. Lilburne tells Cromwell that there are (December, 1653) '35,000 *captions* (arrest-warrants for debt) out against men. Huntly being one of that number, sent this day to me for protection.' About the same date Lord Cardross was writing to the Stirling bailies to allow the Earl of Mar to come south without fear of arrest, the revenue of the town's hospital depending upon monies that had been lent to him. Lilburne also strongly urged the policy which President Forbes and Argyll pressed upon the Hanoverian Government after the Fifteen. This was, 'That libertie may bee given to any Scotchman to transport regiments to Forraine princes in amity with us.' Forbes's plan contemplated service under the British flag,

and this was left to Chatham to carry out. Had it been adopted earlier, we should probably never have heard of the Forty-five.

Cromwell, finding the country at his feet, lost no time in promoting an Incorporating Union. A commission of eight, on which sat such famous Roundhead officers as Vane, Lambert, Monk, and St. John, arrived in Scotland early in 1652 to confer with the local leaders with a view to union. Argyll held out in the hope of resuscitating the old Scots Estates, and even summoned them to a futile meeting at Finlarig, on Loch Tay, but after a conference with Monk at Dumbarton he gave in, and rendered valuable assistance in reducing the Highlands. Cromwell evidently looked upon Scotland as won by his sword, and was disposed towards annexation pure and simple. Convinced that the advantages of union were all on the side of the poor Scots, he and his officers were astonished that they were so little grateful for the boon. It offered a mild form of Home Rule in place of a military occupation, Parliamentary representation by thirty members, most of them drawn from the officers of the English, and three peers, among them Argyll and Johnston of Warristoun. This was the outcome of the instrument of Government, or declaration for Union, 'proclaymed with much solemnity att the Markett Crosse in Edinburgh by beate of drum and sound of trumpett, and the Crosse adorned with hangings,' all which can be read in this volume in a letter from Leith, April, 1652. There was a great concourse of people, and after the reading the soldiers shouted their approbation with the 'free conferring of liberty upon a conquered people, but soe sencelesse are this generation of there owne goods, that scarce a man of them shew'd any signe of rejoycing.' The citizens evidently thought this a poor substitute for the riding of the Parliament, the glories of which made Miss Damahoy wax so eloquent to her neighbour, Peter Plumdammas.

Of greater moment than this abortive Union, on which the volume throws but little light, was the creation of a new bench of judges in place of the corrupt Court of Session. They were seven in number, four English and three Scots—James Dalrymple, better known as Viscount Stair, Johnston of Warristoun, and Lockhart of Lee. They were no longer paper lords,

but designated Judge Smith and the like, in colonial fashion. Henceforth, too, all legal documents were to be in English. This Southron justice proved popular, for it was pure and expeditious. A *laudator temporis acti* of a later date, who admired the old style of 'tholing an assize with a formidable *tail* of supporters,' disposed of them sneeringly with a 'Deil thank them! a wheen kinless loons.' They appear to have valued their salaries, regularly paid them, better than the gifts and favour of kinsmen. Nicoll, the diarist, an Edinburgh writer who acted as agent for the city of Glasgow at this time, laments that the old legal officials dare not show themselves for fear of the English. To his disgust people had to seek justice from the English governors and officers. There was no magistrate or Council for Edinburgh, and petitioners had to go to the Castle and Leith, 'whose officers (to speak truly) proceeded more equitably and conscientiously nor our own magistrates.' The Commissioners sat at Dalkeith, in what had been the castle of the Regent Morton in Queen Mary's time, and thither had many a deputation from the burghs to trudge and make a poor face over the paying of the cess and the quartering of soldiers, or take their commands as to the ordering of burghal affairs. They contrived, however, to *thole* their troubles. In the burgh accounts of Stirling at this date appear the items—'Spent with Tammas Bruce the nicht befor going to Dalkeith, on wine, succar, tabacco, and *other necessaris*; on return with Tammas, in John Cahouns, 9 muchkins (quarts) canary, tobacco, and pypes; *mair*, when Tammas gaed to his awn hoose, 1 muchkin canary.' Nor did these hard-driven bailies deny themselves the compensations of the *deid chack*, as witness the item (1651)—'Spent wi' the auld provist and bailyeis in Jas. Swordis efter the execution of the man quha murderit his chyld, on wyn, aill, and tibac., £3 11s. 6d.'

The wars for Covenant and Crown had proved the ruin of Scottish feudalism and prepared the way for that degradation of public spirit and character among the governing classes which made the Restoration period the most scandalous in our annals. Robert Baillie pithily sketches the condition of the peers—'Hamilton execute and the estates forfault, one part gifted to

English sojourns, rest not fit to pay the debt, Argyll amost drowned in debt, Douglas and his son Angus quyet men of no respect, Loudoun ane outlaw about Athole, Balmerino suddenly deid and his son for *captions* (warrants) keips not the causey, Eglinton and Glencairn on the brink of bankruptcy.' Lilburne's letters amply corroborate Baillie. He shows how this state of matters was feeding the flames of disaffection, 'many broken men of desperate fortunes running to the Hills daily, and from thence fall downe in parties in the night time into the Lowlands, and steal horses,' thus putting the garrisons to much trouble and expense. Of course one cannot expect sympathy with broken barons from such militant republicans, whose leanings were all towards the *poore commonis*. The news-letters seem to delight in showing these royalist barons at a disadvantage. Thus the *Mercurius Politicus*, of October 1653, tells, with a chuckle, how Kenmore 'marches with a rundlet (keg) of strong waters before him which they call Kenmore's Drum.' On the other hand the peasantry are cordially supported as the victims of their feudal masters, whose ruin proved in fact to them a genuine relief from rent and harassing exactions. The raising of the royal standard at Killin, July 1653, was virtually a No Rent manifesto. The burghers were more to be pitied, for they had to contribute heavily to support the military occupation in spite of disorganised trade and great scarcity of money. There are frequent petitions for abatements. Lilburne, ever considerate, presses the Committee for the Army to be lenient and not charge any more than £8,500 a month, with abatements to *depopulate* places. Perth, Dundee, Glasgow, and other great burghs, he adds, pay little or nothing, Argyle and most of the Highlands nothing at all. Especially sad was the case of Glasgow, 'fair and beautiful, the flower of Scotland,' of which the fourth part was burnt down in 1652. It took forty-eight hours to quench the fire in spite of the help of the garrison. 'Yesterday, when we went to view it, it drew tears from my eyes, and not mine alone, but many,' says a contemporary letter. The burghers wofully petition that 'the poore widowis and orphaunts wha hes no scheildis to creipe in may be timeously supportet.' The times had wrought sad reverses among even the well to do

burgess class. Sir William Dick, who had been a great merchant in the Lawnmarket of Edinburgh and architect of his own fortune, died a pauper in Westminster, December, 1655, and without a decent funeral, yet his advances in hard cash, the sacks of dollars that Davie Deans describes, really gained the victory of Duns Law and turned the tide of history. Lilburne, in November 1653, pleads with the judges to grant a suspension to his sons from personal execution, 'being very sensible of the sufferings of the old gentleman, their father, at London agitating for some public satisfaction for his great sacrifices.'

The poverty of the country, unable as it was to bear the military burdens, and the disaffection of the chiefs, formed not the only rocks on which Cromwellian rule split. The real rock was the clergy. The divisions among them were more political, and more bitter than those among the Sectaries whom they detested. There were a few Malignants, professed Royalists with no great love for Presbytery. They pretended to be most ready to submit to Cromwell, but, in reality, merely from hostility to the Kirk. A letter from Hyde to Middleton in this volume is a curious commentary on Church politics and royalist tactics. For some years after 1660 he ruled Scotland, and, himself a cavalier toper, presided over that Drunken Parliament at Glasgow, 1662, which sent so many of the westland clergy to the moors and the moss-hags. Hyde tells him, 'I fear you are *not Presbiterian enough*, for I do not find any of that trybe who are ther (in Scotland) have any confidence in you.' At the other extreme were the Remonstrants, the true-blues of the west, who protested against certain resolutions of recent assemblies in favour of the King, passed by a party that they dubbed in consequence Resolutioners. These Resolutioners were the Moderates of the time, who clung to their *simulacrum of a Covenant* and hoped to *purge and plant the church* and bring in their covenanted king. Chief of these were Robert Baillie, and 'that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, James Sharp.' Cromwell upon the whole preferred the Remonstrants as more thorough-going Puritans. In truth the Moderates had an intense hatred of that Brownism or Independency which had neutralised the victory of Presbyterianism in the Westminster Assembly. The Round-

head officers were diligent apostles and exemplars of Brownism, trying their best among the common people with a fervour worthy of rivals such as that John Menzies who used to change his shirt always after preaching, and to wet two or three napkins with his tears every sermon. Under their example the devotional aspect of the old service of Knox and Melville deteriorated. The Brownists made great ado about their hats during sermon, sitting covered during the preaching. A Cross-michael minister objected to this among his own people. 'I see a man,' he said from the pulpit one day, 'aneath that laft wi' a hat on. I'm sure ye're clear o' the sooch o' the door. Keep aff your bannet, Tammas, and if your bare pow be cauld ye maun just get a grey worsit wig like mysel.' Lilburne believed that 'there is an increase of good people who daily some way or other are sweetened towards us, only there wants some meanes to lead many into a clearer light that are waiting for it.' He expects some favourable movement among 'the people in the west, who have bin always accounted most precise.' There were a few *gathered churches* or meetings of converts to Brownism here and there. Lilburne soon comes to see, however, that even the Remonstrants detested the Cromwellian subordination of the Church to the State and its lax toleration of Anabaptists, Quakers, Papists, and even Atheists. That dour Precisian, Andrew Cant, who was watching so sedulously over Aberdeen for the Covenant, rejected the advances of Colonel Overton when apologising for some incivilities offered by his men to one 'who he heard was a friend to us; to which Mr. Cant replied in plain Scottish that he was a lying knave who told him so, for he neither respected him nor his party.' At Cupar there was a conference between the Puritan and the Presbyterian preachers, where were discussed, with much cry and little wcol, such *kittle pints* as Adam's sin, infant baptism, and universalism. Among the benighted Highlanders progress was made, it was believed, 'some having heard our preaching with great attention and groanings. They are very simple, and ignorant in the things of God, and some live even as brutish as the heathen.' In 1651 Lambert had received overtures from Warristoun, Rutherford, and others of the

rigid sect 'in name of those who would be called the godly party,' but he sees their drift, which is to 'exalt their government in the Kirk.' By the summer of 1653 Lilburne has become convinced that the disaffected clergy are secretly encouraging the rebel Malignants in the Highlands, and on his own responsibility orders Colonel Cotterell to treat that popular and godly Parliament, the General Assembly, to his master's stern *Get thee gone!* He 'besett the church (St. Giles) with some rattes of musketers and a troop of horse,' marched the members ignominiously out at the West Port and so on to the quarry holes on Bruntfield Links, and there at the foot of the thieves' gallows set them about their business. The two prelatie Stuart kings had never dared to do so much.

The divided state of public opinion on church matters showed what a loss the country sustained in the death of a real statesman like Alexander Henderson. King-made Prelacy and drum-head Independency had both been tried and Scotland would have none of them. The position of parties made compromise impossible, and so a great opportunity was lost. And while the Kirk learned little or nothing of 'sweet reasonableness' from the piety of the Independents, their example destroyed much of that 'beauty of holiness' in ritual which Knox and Melville had left untouched.

By vehement harangues in sermon and prayer the clergy sought to show forth the power of grace, resulting only in an incongruous blend of secular and sacred. Thus, in Edinburgh, there was a daily service in the kirks every afternoon at four, in which the officers were wont to play the part of the church militant. Nicoll sarcastically extracts good out of the practice, 'which benefited soul and body, the soul being edified and fed by the Word, the body withhalden from unnecessar *bibing*, whilk at that hour of the door was in use and custom'—an early authority for that time-honoured institution, the *meridian*. The diarist tells us that in its social aspects the Usurpation was still more aggressive. The Independents 'proclomit the day called Christmas to cease, demolished the King's seat in the High Church, pulled down the King's arms and dang down the unicorn, hanging up the crown on the gallows,' which stood at

the cross on the High Street. They struck too at the Kirk's police control over public morals, for the dragoons took out and burned the repentance stool wherever they went, making fun of it as a Popish relic of penance. No doubt the Church had shown the absurdity of giving legislative importance to trifles. They had found the most scandalous offenders among self-accused demented creatures. In this volume we are told how the English judges sat for three days (October 1652) on a long list of arrears, cases under the seventh commandment, all more or less shocking. Above sixty offenders were libelled, most for deeds done years before, the chief proof being found to be their own confession. With all this the Sectaries had little sympathy, though in a practical way they studied public decency. The garrison at Leith was made the nucleus of a sort of model community, and here the governor tried (January 1652) to put down immorality with a strong hand, forbidding the employment of women and maid-servants as tapsters and the marriage of any soldier with a Scots woman without official sanction. Military discipline was admirably maintained, and there are here many proclamations against the breaking into 'orchards, gardens, yards, to plunder fruits, cabbage, roots, also green pease or beanes in fields, or killing rabbits belonging to warrens, and house-pigeons,' the object being to conciliate the people. 'Free the poor commoners, and make as little use as can be either of the great men or clergy,' sums up well the policy of the Usurpation.

Cromwell's officers followed on the lines of the old Privy Council in interfering, for a social good, with the liberty of the subject. They fixed the price of hay and stabling charges, restrained the extortions of the boatmen and ferrymen of Burntisland and Leith, inspected and regulated the quality and price of bread. Bakers must expose their bread for sale only on Fridays and Tuesdays at the Brig-end of Leith, and not run from house to house with it. Moderns will have more sympathy with the efforts to improve the comforts of the capital. The order that householders must hang out lanterns and candles at their doors and windows—6 p.m. to 9 p.m.—almost turned, according to a contemporary, night into day. The provost, too,

was to give present order to clean wynds and closes, and that none throw water from their windows, or be fined 4s. Scots, half to the informer, half to the poor. Not till 1731 did the Edinburgh Corporation make any real headway in repressing the *throwin owre* practices. In Cromwell's time the thrifty magistrates complained of the enormous expense of the enforced scavenging (£50 Scots a week), landing the city, as it did, in debt.

Scotland suffered badly from the witch mania that disgraced so many countries and centuries. These poor creatures had reason to bless the Roundhead officers, under whom they enjoyed something of a respite. Thus Clarke, in reporting to Lenthall the doings of the judges on that notable three days' assize in 1652, mentions a witch case of several years' standing. On their own confession, the unhappy wretches had been turned over to the civil magistrate, and this is how they had been proved witches—'By tying their thumbs behind them and then hanging them up by them when they were whipped, after which lighted candles were set to the soles of their feet and between their toes, then they burnt them by putting candles into their mouths.' Of the six so treated, four died of the torture. The judges appointed the sheriffs, ministers, and tormentors to be found out, and to give an account of the ground of the cruelty. Another suspect was 'kept on bread and water twenty days, stript naked and laid upon a cold stone, with only a hair-cloth over her. Others had hair-shirts dipt in vinegar put on them to fetch off their skin. Here is enough for reasonable men to comment upon.' The humanity of Puritanism was never more conspicuous than at this time.

The editorial introduction to this curious volume is excellent, but the annotation of the text, and especially the indexing, leave much to be desired. As the material of the volume has been deciphered and pieced together with great difficulty, often from rough notes and jottings in shorthand, we ought to be thankful that it has been made so intelligible. The numerous topographical references on every page, a matter of very great and lasting interest, have been but perfunctorily handled. This may be one of the disadvantages accruing to

Scottish history made or edited in England. Many of the place-names are almost hopelessly disguised. As the index offers no help here ingenuity might be directed to such as Bohanty, 'the best of the three ways out of the Highlands,' Bonnywher, 'neere Ruthven Castle' in Badenoch, Canygeles, 'Huntly's house,' Carversa Castle, '20 miles from Inveraray' (?) Tarbert, Gillogaer somewhere on the northern bounds of Athole. These are only a few of the unexplained. They include such very obvious ones as Dagettee in Fife, Finlarge at the west-end of Loch Tay, Logyerate, Envernes, Rowborough, and Bigtounne, indexed as Biscoptounne (Bishopton). The editor queries 'Knapdrale betweene Swin Castle and Rosse,' suggesting Knapdale, and leaving the other tempting bits of topography unexplained. And yet the Ordnance maps are not difficult of access. Baginnoth is Badenoch in the index, but Badinnoth in Ruthven and Baggon are never mentioned though obviously the same place. When Kenmore went from Busse to the head of Loch Long to meet Colonel Macnaughten, we are left to conjecture that Luss on Loch Lomond is meant. Another passage surely calling for explanation is, 'The Marquess of Huntley died last week at his house at Boggy-geith.' This place is not even indexed, so it may be well to say it is on p. 289. It is the famous Bog o' Gight, that gives its name to Strathbogie. Slezer in his *Theatrum Scotiæ* blunders strangely over this name. He gives a view of Heriot's Hospital, which he labels *Boghen-gieght*. Now and again the Roundhead officers preserve the local pronunciation very correctly as in 'our new garrisons att Buhanon and Cardrus,' and again in 'Kirkmichill' (near Blair Athol). The index affords no help, though we have obviously here Buchanan Castle, Cardross, and Kirkmichael. One would never guess, again, from text or index, where Lochheid is. In this connection falls to be noted the strangest bit of editorial obscurity. 'For the Major General who went by sea from Inverary to Ayre, came to us by boat (to Peasly i.e. Paisley), and wee heard by him of the surprizall of our garrisons of Lough, Kincairn, and Turbet.' The comma after *Lough* is in the text. Kincairn stands in the index with a reference only. Now we have here Kenmore's famous dash at Kintyre and a very pretty bit of topographical lore. The fort on the beautiful loch

at Campbeltown had the honour of first appearing in history as Dalruadhain, the capital of Fergus King of Scotia. When Kiaran, the black-visaged, settled here in his cell as an Irish saint, the spot became the holy Kil-cerran and in Gaelic to this day *Ceann locha chille Chiaran*, head of the loch of Kiaran, or, in this Roundhead officer's letter, Lough Kincairn. During the early Protectorate Argyll induced many westland Whigs to settle here from Ayrshire, and they Saxonised the spot as Loch-head. On the site of the old castle that Kenmore stormed, at the head of Main Street of Campbeltown, a church was built in 1780. In the *Expedition of Argyll*, 1661, the town is called Cean Loch or Loch-heid, and in a church register of 1671 it appears for the first time as Campbeltown in honour of the Argyll family. After these faults of omission it is venial to find the editor telling in his preface that Monk's soldiers learned at Dundee, *Aug. 9th*, of the victory at Worcester at the beginning of September.

The personal names in the text offer most tempting bits of family history. Not to speak of the crowd of Macs, disguised by outrageous spelling, we have such members of noted historical families as Hope of Craighall, Sir John Chiesly, Sir James Stewart, Lord Dundas of Arniston. Most of the King's agents in the Persecution (1662-87) are here—Middleton, Turner, Ballantyne, Dalzel—all active in stirring up opposition among the Tories, as Lilburne calls his Highland enemies, 'people who speak Irish, and go only with plaids about their middle, both men and women.' It may be observed here that all through our literature Scottish Gaelic generally appears as *Erse* or *Irish*, and this even so late as the poetry of Burns, a fact not always recognised by his editors. Of the clergy Lilburne was much pleased with Mr. Galeaspe, honest Robert Baillie's *bête noir*, Patrick Gillespie, whom Cromwell made Principal of Glasgow University, paying also Charles I.'s subscription to the building fund, to which the King had signed his name. Lilburne's name for him is that which Milton thought as inharmonious as his own Tetrachordon. Here, too, is Master Robert Leighton, as yet minister of Newbattle, and going to London to help the poor clergy whom Captain Alured had captured in the Raid of Alyth. But the most curious personal name occurs in a letter of Hyde to Middleton, who had

wished 'the King should write to Mr. Junius of Amsterdam in Latine,' probably that he might be another Salmasius and catch the ear of academic Europe for the woes of royalty in exile. Junius was among the first to draw attention to Old English, publishing Caedmon's *Paraphrase*, and the Moeso-Gothic *Gospels* of Wulfila, two of the most notable finds in the whole range of English philology.

JAMES COLVILLE.

ART. VI.—CHRISTINA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

1. *Christina, Queen of Sweden.* By T. W. BAIN (Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford). London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1890.
2. *Mémoires concernant Christine, reine de Suede.* Par JEAN ARCKENHOLTZ (cons et bibl du Landgrave de Hesse Cassel). Amsterdam. 1751-60.
3. *Memoirs of Christina, Queen of Sweden.* By HENRY WOODHEAD. London, 1863.

Many other works and pamphlets.

I.

AN enigma on the page of history! A queen descending from her throne—the heiress daughter of a famous Protestant warrior voluntarily placing herself under obedience to the Holy See—the virgin representative of a Scandinavian crown choosing of her own free will to reside in the sunny palaces of intriguing Rome!

Such acts and deeds are suited to the pages of romance, or to the heroic age of the world's history, but seem to be out of place in the dull monotony and exhausted energy of the seventeenth century. The battle of the Reformation had been fought out. The awful brightness of the fires that had been kindled in the previous century had died away. Only here and there a bright spark remained of that fiery flame, which

had driven nations into fiercest conflict, and well nigh consumed the noblest souls of earth. An ordinary mortal in the latter half of the seventeenth century lived in the great reaction from intensity of belief to the indifference of satire, in matters civil and ecclesiastical. All too strange, therefore, for the comprehension of her age and her surroundings, were the life and doings of Christina, Queen of Sweden.

In truth, the Queen possessed many heroic qualities, and yet withal was deeply imbued with that same spirit of the age. Whether the fulsome flattery of Roman authors, or the fierce scorn of Protestant detractors be most objectionable and most absolutely removed from the truth, it were hard to determine. Certain it is that Christina's contemporaries all agreed to estimate the value of her life by that one act which they deemed the best and only test of human merit—her translation from the Church of her fathers to the Church of Rome. Such a test is hardly conclusive. Motives, though often difficult enough to trace, and often appearing contradictory, are yet for moral purposes the true test whereby the value of actions must be estimated; and further, in judging of the very life itself, not one event, however great or however important, must be seized on to the total exclusion of the remainder, but all the events in due order of merit must be allowed their appropriate share of weight in preparing the final verdict.

The life of Christina falls into several very strongly marked periods. There is, in the first place, the period of her youth, during which her great powers were being rapidly matured, while her days were for the most part spent in isolation. Then the ten years follow during which she was a real Queen, surrounded with nobles and men of letters and courtiers ready to do her bidding, but from nearly all of whom she was separated by that great gulf which lies between a sovereign and her subjects. It was during this period that she had to cope seriously, and with but little external aid, with the more solemn matters that distract the human mind, politics, religion, and marriage.

Finally comes the period during which she lived in Rome and frequented the Papal Court. It was in reality more than

half her life. The earlier portion of this residence in the States of the Church was frequently broken by expeditions into various parts of Europe, but the latter portion was seldom interrupted by any ventures of this kind. A certain concealed regret seems to hang over these closing years, subdued alike by literary interests and the dignity of true self-respect, and softened by the consolatory exercises of religion.

II.

The earlier days of Christina's life were passed in circumstances of great peculiarity. If it were needful to characterise her position by one emphatic word, that word must needs be Isolation. The only child of a mighty warrior, cut off in the prime of life, Christina was early left with but two near relations in the world—her mother Maria Leonora, and her aunt Catharine.

Gustavus Adolphus, her father, loved her passionately while he lived, but her mother, the records say, shewed less affection. She had hoped that her child might have been a boy, who might have become a worthy heir of the great champion of the Protestant cause, in the Council and the battle-field. Once, it is said, just as the northern hero was starting for his last descent on the German Empire, so utterly paralysed by internal feebleness and want of organisation, his little daughter, no more than four years old, ran towards him and wished him prosperity in his arduous undertaking. The King was at the moment giving some important orders, and did not notice her approach: but, she, refusing to be ignored, pulled with all her tiny might at his sword belt, and so drew him towards her. In a moment, by means of this military appeal, Gustavus' whole thought became suddenly fixed upon his darling child. The simple anecdote is characteristic of both the persons concerned in it. Both were impetuous, eager, passionate. And the general interest of the story is heightened by another fact. For neither at the time knew that they would never meet again on earth.

Gustavus, on the eve of his journey southwards, appointed John Matthiæ to be Christina's tutor. The appointment was

well made. Matthiæ was one of those gentle and devotional spirits, who long above all things for the religious union of Christendom. And it is undoubtedly true that this noble desire, however chimerical, must always possess a peculiar charm to the most liberal and enthusiastic minds. Still, at a later time, this pure and simple ecclesiastic was destined to be deprived of his Bishopric on a somewhat vindictive charge of heresy. Nevertheless, he fared better at the hands of the State than of the Church, and in after years his children were ennobled. One lesson at the least Christina learnt from this excellent man, which never faded from her memory throughout all the vicissitudes of her later life; and that lesson was Love of Toleration.

Before his final departure, Gustavus made such arrangements as would be necessary in case of his own death. He appointed his beloved Chancellor Oxenstiern the guardian of his youthful daughter during her minority, and the appointment took effect much sooner than might have been expected, owing to Gustavus' sudden overthrow at the important battle of Lutzen. When the kingdom of Sweden had recovered its consternation at the sad news, Christina was proclaimed Queen, and of the five regents then appointed Oxenstiern was the chief. Hence this skilful and adroit statesman became possessed of the larger share of authority in the entire government of Sweden. His political position was further strengthened by the fact that two of his near relatives held the offices of Constable and Treasurer. The complete control which he exercised on the young Queen's education was calculated to extinguish all feminine qualities, although he was careful to provide the best instruction in art, science, and literature. The Grand Council of the nation consisted in Sweden of five colleges or ministerial departments, comprising altogether twenty-five persons. The heads of these departments formed the executive Government. When Oxenstiern and his colleagues assumed office, they found the affairs of the nation in great confusion. The expenses of the war in Germany were ruinous to the royal exchequer, yet all attempts to equalise taxation by withdrawing the privileges of the nobles or clergy

were distinct failures. Within the Empire, the baffled hopes of Ferdinand's troops revived after the memorable fight at Lutzen. In fact, the position of the Swedes seemed becoming untenable. The upright Chancellor, however, disdainfully scorned to notice the bribes which the Austrians with foolish cunning offered. He only wrote home to the Council at Stockholm, 'a dog who growls and shows his teeth, can make better terms than one who puts his tail between his legs and runs away.'

Yet when Bernard of Weimar was overthrown in the battle of Nördlingen, in the month of August 1634, it was necessary to commence negotiations for peace: and the truce which Axel Oxenstiern was obliged to sign with Poland cost him many sighs. Any admission, even indirectly, of Uladislau's false claim to the crown of Sweden seemed to his patriotic soul utterly intolerable. He returned to his own land in the month of July 1636.

Meantime, while weighty affairs were being discussed abroad, internal strife divided the royal family at home. Christina, it has been already hinted, never loved her mother, Maria Leonora. In fact they disagreed about the merest trifles as well as matters of greater moment. Moreover, Maria Leonora was unpopular with the Council and the people. Her jealousy was aroused by the large incomes appropriated by the regents, and the small allowances paid over to her own privy purse, and in an evil moment for her own best interests, she entered into communications with Christian of Denmark. Subsequently she fled to that country, and remained above eight years on the continent.

Maria Leonora's deserved unpopularity induced the Council to place their future ruler under the official care of her aunt, the Princess Catharine, who was the only surviving child of Charles IX. Her influence, while it lasted, was most beneficial, but unfortunately she died towards the close of the year 1638. This event was a turning point in Christina's life.

Bereft at the early age of thirteen of the only relative, in whom she placed any confidence, the young Queen was forced to rely entirely on her own resources. She pursued with in-

creased vigour her studies in all branches of literature, giving especial prominence to history and theology, but she became hard and unsympathetic, and, ignoring her own sex,* sought only the companionship of the learned. The records concerning Elizabeth of England afforded her peculiar delight, and most likely presented models for imitation. Her interest in politics was early awakened, and on hearing of the likelihood of Baner's death after an exhausting and difficult campaign she wrote to the Prince Palatine, 'I cannot conceal the bad news that has just arrived. Baner is dangerously ill, and not likely to recover . . . such men are not met with every day, and if he dies, our affairs will not go on well.'

The first debate which the young Queen of Sweden heard at her Council Board concerned the much disputed question of the Sound Dues. A certain coldness had arisen between Sweden and Denmark, due partly to Maria Leonora's strange conduct, and partly to King Christian's subservience to the Emperor. Hence the majority of the Council were in favour of war, and even the Chancellor maintained that the expenses of fighting would be less burdensome than the excessive tolls. The dispute arose in this way. Sweden, by her treaties with Denmark, was exempt from this tax, and she made use of the privilege to cover with her flag the goods of foreign merchants. The Danes retaliated by seizing three Swedish vessels. The Swedes determined on invasion, and Torstenson was intrusted with the guidance of their operations. The attack was conducted with skill and secrecy, but in no very honourable fashion, and, although Denmark was overrun, was not decisive.

It was one of Christina's first cares on her complete assumption of government to negotiate a peace with Christian of Denmark. It was arranged that the Sound should be free, and that certain concessions in the shape of territory should

* 'It is almost impossible that a woman should perform the duty required on the throne. The ignorance of women, their feebleness of mind, body, and understanding makes them incapable of reigning.'—*Vie par elle-même*, ch. ix.

be made in favour of Sweden. Oxenstiern's services on this occasion were rewarded with the title of Count.

While the war with Denmark continued to disturb the peace of Sweden, Christina reached her eighteenth year. Sovereigns usually come of age earlier than the rest of mankind, and, as in the case of our own Queen, eighteen was fixed by lawful authority as the appropriate time for Christina's majority. Henceforth she must enter on a wider and more brilliant field of action, and, escaping from the trammels of the regency, must become mistress of a regal Court.

III.

As soon as Christina had attained her majority, she was proclaimed, in deference to her own wish and the desires of the people, *King* of Sweden in the month of December, 1644. The masculine gender was adopted in preference to the feminine to avoid running counter to an old tradition.

Her first measure after her complete establishment on the throne was to grant an Indemnity to the Regents, who for above ten years had directed the executive Government. This she was bound to do, not only to conciliate the nobles but as an act of simple justice. She was bound to start fair if she was ever to rule her country with success. Nevertheless, the Act of Indemnity gratified the aristocracy alone. The fact was that Sweden, for the last decade of years, had been entirely in the hands of an aristocratic oligarchy, who, amongst other things, had freely alienated Crown lands for the benefit of their own Order. The other Estates of the realm, therefore, had looked for some partial resumption of these alienations previous to the grant of the Indemnity. But it would have been impossible for Christina, even if she had been inclined, to commence her reign by serious disagreement with the friendly and all-powerful Chancellor. She felt that at first she must learn from Oxenstiern what he had learnt from her father, and not strive to direct him with the ignorance of pride. The Chancellor was alone intimately acquainted with all the minute intricacies of home and foreign affairs, and was the only man capable of conducting the Government of Sweden. Moreover,

from long experience, every one trusted his judgment and admired his integrity.

Who should be the favoured possessor of this northern heiress' hand was a question mooted alike amongst the noble houses of Sweden and the royal courts of Europe. The following princes have been enumerated among her suitors—Ulrick and then Frederick of Denmark, Philip IV. of Spain, the Archduke Leopold of Austria, Charles Louis Elector Palatine; Ferdinand, King of Hungary, and the three sons of Sigismund of Poland. Besides these more distinguished persons, there were numerous inferior aspirants, but there were never more than two who had any chance of success—Magnus de la Gardie, a Swedish nobleman, and Charles Gustavus. The former of these was really in love with Maria Euphrosyne, Christina's cousin, whom he finally married. The latter became Christina's successor on the throne, but not her husband. Once or twice it seemed as if they might have married, but the Queen could never quite make up her mind. Like our own Elizabeth, she became so enamoured of the sweets of absolute power that she was unwilling to share her authority with another, and she was not sure of the purity of Charles' motives. Did he seek her or her power? The Queen herself declared that heiresses proverbially remained single, and that the Court was a hot-bed of intrigue. Neither the beauty, elegance, and courtly manners of Magnus de la Gardie, nor the high rank and near relationship of Charles Gustavus, could win Christina's heart.

The retirement of Torstenson from the command of the troops belonging to the Swedish Crown within the Empire was regretted by the whole country. He was one of the ablest of Gustavus' generals, and was much beloved by the soldiery, whom he had generally led to victory. Meantime the successes of the French, who were allies of Sweden, were very brilliant in the north of Germany, and Christina took opportunity to congratulate Condé by letter. She soon saw, however, that the war had become chronic, and determined, against the wishes of her own nobility, to support with the utmost of her ability the proposed negotiations for a lasting

peace. 'What I desire most,' she wrote privately to her representative Salvius, 'and esteem above everything else, is the power of restoring peace to Christendom.' The colleague of the clever plebeian Salvius was the proud patrician John Oxenstiern, and it was indeed needful that the Queen should give clear and distinct orders to prevent these ill-matched envoys from openly quarrelling.

Intricate and brimful of diplomatic subtlety were the debates that preceded the final settlement of peace. Some of the Great Powers sent ambassadors to the Congresses, more out of deference to public opinion, than from any desire of seriously arranging preliminaries. Their representatives talked of the interests of religion, but, while they squabbled about precedence, they thought only of the best means of obtaining power and influence. Once it is said the Papal Nuncio enquired of Cardinal Richelieu whether he was not greatly embarrassed by the war. The great minister of France only observed that he had obtained, when he became Secretary of State, a dispensation from his Holiness which he deemed wide enough even to include giving aid to heretics.

The terms which Sweden finally obtained at the Peace of Westphalia, though satisfactory for the purposes of a general pacification, were unworthy of the amount of blood that had been shed. Western Pomerania, certain cities and islands, and two secularised Bishoprics were ceded to her as hereditary fiefs.

All northern Europe breathed freely again at the happy Restoration of Peace after thirty years of miserable warfare. Each nation found time to investigate the condition of its internal politics. The peasantry of Sweden declared that they had many grievances. The nobility strenuously opposed all efforts for reform. The people demanded the resumption, the aristocracy sought the further alienation, of the royal domain. Christina found herself unable to satisfy these contradictory demands, and the Lutheran Church, which was at first neutral in regard to this dispute, soon sided with the people owing to the overbearing arrogance of the nobility. Matthiæ's attempts to quell the rising outbursts of party spirit were fruitless.

About the year 1650, the antagonism between the two parties had reached the highest pitch. Christina, with the truest moderation, held the balance between them. She could not reconcile the opposing parties, but she gave way to neither the one nor the other. At the same time, by occasional concessions, she succeeded in averting the outbreak of civil war. She found herself placed in a position of the greatest difficulty,* with but few trusted advisers, and it seems likely that the extreme anxiety of this troublesome period of her reign first suggested the idea of abdication. At any rate she made up her mind to propose Charles Gustavus as her successor to the Estates of Sweden: and after some opposition, headed by the Chancellor, the proposal was adopted. By this step she facilitated her own abdication: she also crushed the aspirations of that section of the nobility that longed for an aristocratic republic, and escaped for the future the irritating importunity with which proposals for marriage had been thrust upon her in the past. Her general health too was indifferent, and at times the doctors became thoroughly alarmed.

In many ways the youthful Queen of Sweden's reputation stood high among the princes of Europe. It was admitted on all sides that she had shewn considerable skill in the conduct of public affairs in times of unparalleled difficulty; but above all she was renowned throughout the world on account of her extensive patronage of the savants distinguished in various branches of learning. Grotius, the well known writer on International law—a study then in its infancy—was for a short time her representative at the Court of Versailles. His death occurred before any intimacy could arise. The famous philosopher, Descartes, visited Stockholm in the spring of 1649, and was royally received. He had corresponded with Christina on various subjects of interest previous to his journey northwards. Descartes always maintained that he was a good Catholic, holding that the study of philosophy and theology should always be kept separate. Our own Lord Bacon held

* About this time a lunatic attempted to take the Queen's life without success.

the same opinion.* The philosopher's health suffered much from the coldness of the northern climate, and his constitution, already impaired by excessive study, entirely gave way at the early age of fifty-three. He died in the month of February, 1650. The Queen received the sad news with floods of tears. The rude but clever Salmasius, who delighted in abuse under the title of criticism, and the learned Vossius, who died a Canon of Windsor by a curious freak of fortune, were received with great favour at the Court of Sweden. Other persons of less general distinction, who likewise obtained royal favour, were Burceus, Manasseh Ben Israel, Stiernhielm, John Paulinus, Rudbeck, Bishop of Westeras and his son Olaus, Francenius, Stiernberg, and Sigfried Forsius.

Milton and Gassendi wrote eulogistic letters, and Ménage, Benserade, Scarron, and Claude Sarrau addressed adulatory epistles, and Scuderie dedicated a poem to the distinguished Queen of the North. Bochart of Caen, and his friend Huet, afterwards Bishop of Aranches, visited Christina in her own country. It was a favourite plan with Huet to overthrow the principles of philosophy by suggesting doubts as to their reality; and it seems likely that he, all unconsciously, commenced paving the way which afterwards led Christina to the Roman Church.

It is no wonder, under the circumstances above recorded, that the Queen of Sweden's reputation for learning continued to steadily increase throughout Europe. The Court of Sweden was free from that cold formality and endless amount of etiquette, which formed an essential part of the popular estimation of royalty in the seventeenth century. Individual genius had fair play. Each courtier could prove his title to excel. Hardly any bound was set to the license of repartee, or any limit prescribed to brilliant sarcasm. Unlike the formal and tedious ceremonial, so popular in autocratic Spain, at Stockholm entire freedom of action was the rule. The gay

* "Both religion and philosophy have received and may receive extreme prejudice by being commixed together, thereby making a heretical religion, and an imaginary and fabulous philosophy." *Advancement of Learning*. Ch. II.

scene consisted of a perpetual round of mental and bodily enjoyment. Day followed day in quick succession, and the happy players had no thought beyond the present season of pleasure. Sometimes a single courtier obtained undue influence. This was especially the case with Bourdelot, the royal physician. Christina considered that he had saved her life, and was therefore naturally well disposed towards him. Bourdelot's character has been variously represented, but never in a very favourable light. It is certain that his knowledge of medicine far excelled his notions of morality, and his general influence on the Queen and her Court was, we think, injurious. After a time, he lost favour, and was forced to retire to France, where some preferment was procured for him. Magnus de la Gardie was also disgraced about the same time. The insolence of his conduct had become unbearable, when he ventured to accuse the Queen's friends before her face, and he was advised to retire into the country. No complete reconciliation ever took place: and in after years when Christina visited the country in the capacity of a private person, Magnus spoke against any prolonged stay, lest there should be a disturbance amongst the peasantry.

The sovereigns of Sweden from time immemorial had been crowned at the old capital Upsala, just as the kings of Scotland were for centuries crowned at Scone. A tradition of such ancient authority ought to be upheld. But when it was found that Upsala was incapable of providing sufficient accommodation, and was altogether too small for the requirements of the public, it was resolved to set aside the authority of tradition, and allow the coronation to take place in the new capital, Stockholm,—a town furnished with all the most modern improvements. The usual round of festivities preceded and followed the solemn event. Fountains of red and white wine played for the entertainment of spectators. Fireworks, masks, balls, royal salutes, and masquerades representing the muses, and other goddesses of heathen mythology, were given. Gifts and pensions were freely distributed. While the restless Christina was thus enjoying herself to the full, she tired of pleasure. Even in the midst of these gaieties, the thought of

abdication was sometimes present. She longed for honourable ease and learned leisure. She desired to travel in foreign lands, and to see the treasures preserved in the Vatican. She felt unable to reconcile the differences between class and class, between peasant and noble that distracted her own land. She could not resuscitate the well-nigh bankrupt treasury. She could not, as she was, join the Roman faith.

It was impossible to devise any matured plan for abdication without much forethought. Chanut, the French ambassador, was the first person to whom the Queen definitely confided her intentions. He at once did all in his power to dissuade her from so strange a course. When Charles Gustavus first heard of this idea he doubted the Queen's sincerity. He thought the whole theory of the abdication was only a clever plot to ascertain the state of his own private feelings. He dared not show how keenly he longed to succeed to the throne, and he wrote a cautious letter, recommending Christina to retain her crown. When the whole affair became known to the public, the nobility and people were equally opposed to the Queen's abdication. The Chancellor, Oxenstiern, was particularly annoyed, and declared that the constitutional obstacles to such a course of conduct would prove insurmountable.

Just at this time the pulse of Europe was quivering under the pressure of democratic influences. Signs of conspiracy against the throne made their appearance in Sweden, which ended in the execution of the two Messenii. The revolutionary changes in England caused Whitelocke to be appointed ambassador to the Court of Sweden on behalf of the English commonwealth. His lengthy journal conveys a favourable impression of the northern capital. So stern a Puritan was content to describe Christina's* entertainments as 'genteel.' The ring which she gave Pimentelli, the Spanish ambassador, he calls 'a memorial of her favour.' Her enemies call it a love-token. His conversations on the Sound dues led to no results. When he heard of the proposed abdication, he

* In these days Christina fancifully instituted the knightly Order of Amaranta.

repeated a quaint parable, which by interpretation meant that repentance after the event would be too late for amendment.

Both the Puritan, Whitelocke, and the Catholic, Pimentelli, left Sweden in high favour. The jealousy of the French ambassador was aroused at the favour shown to the Spaniard, and Christina's efforts to terminate the war, then raging between France and Spain, were rendered unavailing. The arrival of the Portuguese ambassador, Pareira, with two Jesuits in his suite, exercised a marked influence on the religious sentiments of the Queen of Sweden. For a long time she had silently weighed in her mind the contradictory arguments of the Protestant and Roman Churches. She had never loved the cold severity of the Lutheran formularies. Her philosophical studies had taught her to doubt their absolute truth. She was just in the right frame of mind to readily accept dogmas claiming infallible truth. Macedo, the Jesuit interpreter of the Portuguese ambassador, was determined not to lose his opportunities. With the connivance of the Queen, his interpretations of the political remarks of his master were really dissertations on Papal theology. The innocent ambassador was frequently surprised and delighted at the evidently favourable reception of his observations. After a while, Macedo, at the royal request, secretly escaped from Sweden with a message to the General of the Jesuit Order, who at once despatched to the north Francesco Malines, Professor of Theology at Turin, and Paolo Casati, Professor of Mathematics at Rome. These distinguished personages reached Stockholm in disguise in the month of March, 1652. Christina was the first to detect their real character. When she privately questioned them on the origin of evil, and the nature of the contrast between faith and reason, they not only asserted the sufficiency of the Papal authority to decide such points, but also used the argument from analogy—those parts of religion which were beyond the reach of reason were no wise opposed to reason.

How deeply the Queen was at the time impressed is shown by her inquiry whether the Papal authority (if so vast as they declared) was not able to grant a dispensation for the recep-

tion of the Sacrament once a year according to the Lutheran rites. On the receipt of a negative reply, the resolution to abdicate became firmly fixed. Yet the distraction of her mind is well illustrated by the fact that on the eve of her own change of creed, she addressed an epistle to Prince Frederick of Hesse urgently pressing him to remain on the Protestant side.

Christina was not so singular, as at first appears, in her strange desire to join the Church of Rome. Many learned men, whom perhaps the Queen treated with excessive respect, took a similar step in the seventeenth century. All the courtiers tried to retain her, as a good Lutheran, on the throne of her fathers without success. Her answer to Chanut's letter of expostulation was vehement and haughty. 'You know this whim has lasted a long time . . . I allow every one to judge me according to their capacity, and although it is true I cannot hinder them, yet I would not do so if I had the power. . . . I have possessed power without pride, and I relinquish it without regret. Do not fear for me, my wealth is beyond the power of fortune. I am happy whatever may chance.' Surely the concluding sentence is the climax of proud humility. Though the people of Sweden knew it not, the abdication and the change of creed went hand in hand. One could not have happened without the other. Other motives, besides the theological, had their share in prompting the abdication. That accomplished, the adoption of the Papal creed was the natural sequence.

In the month of February, 1654, the intended abdication was formally announced to the assembled Estates of the realm. The Senate demurred, but the Queen remained resolute: and so the discussion of details was commenced. It was settled that Charles Gustavus should be King in her room. The payment of a fixed pension, slightly below the original demand, was charged upon the Swedish Pomerania, and certain islands in the Baltic. The retention of the sovereignty of these districts, and a future right to interfere in the regulation of the succession, was denied. The members of the Third Estate manifested their grief openly, and a deputy of the peasantry

shouted out of genuine sympathy 'Continue in your gears, good madam, and be the fore-horse as long as you live, and we will help you the best we can to bear your burden.'

At the close of the month of May Christina made her final address, and on the sixth of June the Act of Abdication was duly performed in the presence of the assembled Diet. The Queen was clad in white, Charles Gustavus in black. She spoke of the blessings of peace which then prevailed, and her father's glorious victories, and then surrendered the sword, the sceptre, and the other emblems of royalty, which were delivered in due form to Charles Gustavus. The same afternoon he was crowned in Upsala Cathedral.

A reign of ten years was thus brought to a sudden termination. They were the happiest years of Christina's life. Peace had been restored to Europe. Internal dissension had been for the time allayed. A fresh impetus had been given to the study of literature and the fine arts. Though darkened by some disappointments, clouded by some failures, and distracted by agitating thoughts on politics and religion, these days that had slipped rapidly by, were bright and happy and gay. The sunshine of life felt warm.

Unlike the Emperor Charles V., who deserted the Imperial throne, weary and worn by anxiety and trouble, Christina retired from public life at the early age of eight and twenty. There was something of knight-errantry in the manner in which she started from her northern home to seek her fortune in the sunny south. A medal was struck, representing Olympus with Pegasus on the summit adorned with the motto, '*Sedes hæc solio potior.*' There was something of sadness in the vehemence with which she afterwards asserted her increased happiness. Not quite what she expected was the treatment she received from the flattering but deceptive world, when stripped of the realities of power. She stilled her disappointment by the intensity of her study. For she soon discovered by stern experience that a Queen surrounded by a brilliant court and all the externals of royalty was in a very different position to a Queen without a throne.

IV.

Immediately after the Act of Abdication Christina started for the mainland of Germany. The news of her resignation of the Crown had created so great a stir that the details of her journey from Sweden to Rome were industriously circulated throughout Europe, and soon assumed an absurd prominence in the pamphleteering literature of the day.* The attempt to preserve secrecy only increased the popular curiosity. After the circulation of a report that she would visit Spa, she travelled in male disguise through Denmark under the name of Count Dohna. She scandalized the orthodox citizens of Hamburg by openly lodging for three weeks with a Jewish banker, and leaving the town suddenly in the middle of the night. At Antwerp she formally received the Archduke Leopold, and the other dignitaries who happened to be in that city. She travelled thence in state to Brussels, where she privately abjured the Lutheran doctrines. Advices from Sweden brought a gentle rebuke from Matthiæ, and a keen reminder of the need of union throughout Christendom, as well as the solemn tidings of the death of Oxenstiern and Maria Leonora. It seems needless to pursue further the numerous but unimportant details of her journey.

In the ancient city of Innsbruck, nestling beside the Tyrolese Alps, consecrated as the last resting-place of those proud champions of the Roman creed, the princes of the House of Hapsburg,† Christina appropriately made the public confession of her new faith in the presence of Holsteinius, papal legate on behalf of Alexander VII. Clothed in black silk, kneeling before the high altar, she distinctly read the required declaration,‡ asserting her thorough belief in every doctrine of the

* Of above sixty books and tracts relating to Christina preserved in the British Museum, there are four copies of the *Vera Relazione del viaggio fattosi*, and two copies of a pamphlet concerning her entrance into Florence.

† The tomb of Maximilian I. occupies a considerable part of the nave of the cathedral, and is ornamented with statues of his ancestors and other princes.

‡ The confession is found thus stated. 'Ego Christina firma fide credo et profiteor omnia et singula quæ continentur Symbolo fidei, quo Sancta Romana Ecclesia utitur.' *Vera Relazione*, n., p. 37.

Roman Church, and listened to a clever Jesuit's sermon on the suggestive text, 'Hearken, O daughter, and consider, incline thine ear; Forget also thine own people, and thy father's house.'

From Innsbruck she wrote to inform Charles Gustavus of her change of religious belief. The devout conduct of his new convert greatly pleased the Pope, and Christina's entrance into Rome became one long triumph. Fireworks and illuminations, processions and triumphal arches honoured her approach. After a regal reception in the Vatican, Alexander VII. conferred the rite of confirmation with his own hands at the High Altar of S. Peter's, and bestowed upon Christina the additional name of Alessandra.

The name of Rome has always possessed a strange fascination. First as the capital of the heathen world, and then as the seat of the chief Bishopric in Christendom, the wealth of the nations flowed into it. Christina, fired by no ordinary enthusiasm, visited in turn the museums, and the picture-galleries, and shared in the fêtes and solemn feasts of the eternal city. In turn, each form of amusement palled upon the taste. Soon tired by the monotony of the Italian festivals, she determined to test the world-wide reputation of the elegant and brilliant entertainments provided by the Court of France.

The States of the Church were the home of throneless princes and princesses. In other countries *de jure* without *de facto* title is little worth. Though treated with every mark of external respect, Christina soon discovered that she could exercise no real influence among the fickle Parisian courtiers of Louis XIV. Her ordinary disregard of detailed etiquette became the subject of ridicule. Her extensive knowledge of the picture-galleries of Paris was considered remarkable but peculiar. Her intimate acquaintance with the intrigues of the Court was deemed offensive. On one occasion she quietly advised the young King to marry Mademoiselle Mancini, Cardinal Mazarin's niece, if he were so inclined. Henceforward ceaseless efforts were made to facilitate her return to Italy.

Yet Christina soon recrossed the Alps with the object of

again visiting the gay capital of France. To postpone her arrival the Palace of Fontainebleau was assigned as her official residence by the Court of Versailles. Within the walls of this Palace the fatal tragedy was enacted, which was doubtless the most serious blot on the otherwise honourable character of the Queen of Sweden. Irritated by the delay, enraged at the discovery of treachery amongst her own servants, over whom she conceived that she still held the power of life and death, she insisted with the wild haste of excitement on the immediate execution of the Marquis Monaldeschi. The pleadings of Father le Bel, the appeals of Sentinelli, the Marquis's own earnest entreaties, were of no avail. Nothing could revoke the unalterable decision. In the Gallery of the Stags, among the hunting trophies of the Kings of France, Monaldeschi was stabbed to death.

The deed in itself cannot be justified. It was the work of passion. The forms of justice were neglected. Nevertheless, it appears Monaldeschi deserved his fate. It seems likely* he had revealed in a traitorous manner a political intrigue with the Pope which was intended to bring the Crown of Naples to his royal mistress. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Bain endeavours to represent the conduct of the Queen in a more favourable light than critics have been accustomed to do in the past, and certainly seems to sum up the intricate facts connected with this painful incident in a more impartial vein than the majority of previous writers.

Louis of France was furious when the news of the execution reached him. He altogether resented Christina's conduct in this affair. He maintained that the execution of any person, especially within the precincts of a royal Palace, without the sanction of the reigning sovereign was a direct insult to the Majesty of the Crown. It was no judicial punishment for proved treachery. It was little else than murder.

Modern authorities on International Law have confirmed Louis' view. Reason and common sense do the same.

* *Evelyn-Diary*, II., 149. The vulgar story as to a love affair is repeated in the *Diary of the Shah*, p. 200.

Nevertheless it is certain that, when she resigned the crown of Sweden, Christina honestly believed that she retained absolute power over her own suite. So great an authority as Leibnitz has been found ready to support her opinion.

There is some analogy to this painful and curious case in the treacherous conduct of Manning, whom Lord Clarendon calls 'a proper young gentleman, bred a Roman Catholic in the family of the Marquis of Worcester.' Charles II., while an exile, had passed in disguise from Cologne to Zealand in the year of grace 1655, and it was discovered that this fact, as well as some other actions of the Royalists, had been communicated by Manning, under the pseudonym of And. Butler, to Oliver Cromwell. On discovery a confession of guilt was at once made, and an excuse offered to the effect that the treacherous letters were, in fact, untrue, except the relation of the journey to Zealand, and their object was the extortion of money from the Government now carried on in England in the name of the Commonwealth.

Lord Clarendon omits to mention the manner of Manning's death, but he was quietly shot after his detection in a wood near Cologne, in the month of December, 1655, by Sir James Hamilton and Major Armourer. For the space of three years he had been in the receipt of £1200 per annum from the Lord Protector.

While Christina was thus passing her time, partly in the enjoyment of Italian society, and partly in wandering over the face of Europe, Charles Gustavus was King in Sweden. His reign of five years duration was one perpetual campaign. He commenced his military operations by overrunning Poland, and then attacked Brandenburg. He next crushed an insurrection of the Poles at the battle of Warsaw, after which John Casimir resigned his crown. Then turning northwards, he made a successful inroad against the Danes, whose country was only saved from annexation by the opportune mediation of England, France, and Holland. Angry at thus losing the fruits of his last campaign, he perfidiously attacked Copenhagen after the peace was signed. The Danes with the assistance of the Dutch made a desperate resistance, and

totally defeating Charles were able to enforce their own terms. The King of Sweden's pride was cruelly wounded, and his constitution undermined by the hardship of the war. He died suddenly in the month of February 1660 with the words on his lips:—'The loss of Fyen kills me.' The war in Pomerania impoverished Christina. Many of the towns allotted to provide her pension were sacked by the violence of the soldiery. Her own attempts to introduce an higher culture among the Swedes were nullified. She was herself forced to become a pensionary of the Pope, and Cardinal Azzolini was appointed to manage her household. His administrative ability introduced tolerable efficiency and economy into the Queen's domestic affairs. Enough money was still forthcoming to supply the requirements of literary and scientific tastes, and considerable sums were annually spent on chemistry and alchemy without much practical result. Christina was thus forced to become more subservient to the Papal Court, and undertook to persuade some of her retinue to adopt the Roman Catholic faith, but she declined altogether to resign her freedom of action, and disputes not unfrequently arose with his Holiness in regard to the discipline of the Swedish servants, and the political condition of Southern Europe.

After the sudden death of Charles Gustavus, the payments from Pomerania became more irregular, and Christina determined to visit Sweden, not now as Queen, but for the purpose of effectually securing her income, and asserting her own claims in case of the death of Gustavus' infant heir, Charles XI. She was hardly received with respect, much less affection.

As the wandering ghost of the quaint old laird, who has long rested beneath the grassy sod, is sometimes said at dead of night to revisit the favourite haunts of long forgotten days, and scarce to recognise the stiff Elizabethan garden or the cool secluded bower owing to the silent ravages of time; so the Queen, bereft of her throne, revisited her former capital, and scarce recognised its altered aspect, and transformed features. A few brief years had changed all things. New courtiers were stationed round the throne. New faces filled the Diet. New interests swayed the

minds of the deputies. A few nobles who remembered Christina in her wealth, avoided her in her poverty.

While yet in Hamburg, she ascertained that Magnus de la Gardie, Brahe, and the rest of the dignitaries of Stockholm, were anxious to delay her approach. Brahe even suggested she should be 'sent to Aland, in charge of an honourable and determined man.' On her arrival in Sweden, powerful resistance was offered to the just demand for the confirmation of her revenue. The celebration of mass in the royal chapel was forbidden. The claim on the succession under certain contingencies was rudely rejected. A second act of renunciation was arranged, and signed.

Christina now thought it best to retire to Norköping. After obtaining some promises as to the payment of her revenue, she left for the continent. During a year's stay in Hamburg, she became acquainted with Borri, a well known student of alchemy, and Lambecius, afterwards distinguished as librarian to the Emperor.

In the autumn of the year 1666, Christina planned a second visit to Sweden; but she met with such an unfavourable reception at Norköping, that she immediately returned to Hamburg, where she heard from Algernon Sydney that her imprisonment had been positively proposed in the Council at Stockholm. The foolish illumination of her hotel in honour of the election of Clement IX. to the Papal throne caused a tumult in the streets of this Protestant city in which several lives were lost. Soon after this unfortunate display of enthusiasm, she left Hamburg for the south.

During the intervals between these various journeys, Christina resided chiefly in Rome. She took the keenest interest in the different questions that were agitated in the University and among the members of the Sacred College, and became absorbed in literary pursuits. The Archbishop Angelo della Noce, Pallavicini, Menzini, Guidi, Filicaja, Cassini, and other men renowned for their acquaintance with the arts and sciences, frequented her palace. She founded a learned Academy, and thus exercised a decidedly beneficial influence on the development of Italian literature, by checking the tendency to prefer style to substance in composition. She never allowed her Italian courtiers to

indulge in personal flattery. In fact, there was nothing she more thoroughly despised. 'I think,' she wrote on one occasion, 'that flattery, which is the poison of princes, might be their best medicine if they knew how to use it properly.' And again, 'If all comparisons are odious, what must a comparison be between me and Alexander the Great?' Christina was too clever and many-sided to care for flattery, and she always saw through it. A remarkable proof of the general respect with which she was regarded by distinguished men is afforded by Bernini on his death-bed bequeathing to her his famous statue of Christ.*

Christina's time passed happily in the capital of Christendom, yet her lively restlessness, though diminishing with advancing years, urged her to seek variety in distant travel, and the study of the political intrigues carried on in the principal European courts. Once she failed in her efforts to mediate between Louis XIV. and the Pope, who was justly indignant at the insolent behaviour of the French Ambassador. His Holiness was most unfairly forced to give way, when the French king, without attempting to argue the matter, took the decided step of occupying Avignon, which had been handed down amongst the possessions of the Papal See ever since the days of the Great Schism.

Christina must have greatly delighted in the superiority of southern manners and customs over the rougher habits of the Swedes, though she was herself no lover of false delicacy. Swearing and other vulgarities were common among the uneducated nobles at Stockholm, whereas external decorum and politeness were always the rule in Rome. Nevertheless, intellectual refinement and extreme attention to the formalities of etiquette, frequently concealed (as at the Court of France) the shameless character of many a vicious life. In fact, nothing could be more complete than the entire contrast between the external aspect and general habits of the northern and southern Courts—the one genuine, rough, rude; the other intriguing, polished, refined. The happy charm of Italian society cast its subtle spell around Christina's life, and fastened her soul with silken chains to the Papal Court, in conjunction with the earnest

* She bequeathed it to the Pope.

desire for the golden coin which opened the door to the celestial regions, spoken of by a contemporary poet, named Bassus :—

‘ Romuleam Christina gradus contendit ad urbem,
Olli ut luce fluat candidiore Polus ;
Regia Virgo lares patrios Regnumque relinquit,
Coelestem Drachmam sedula ut inveniât.
Pectore magnanimo juvat Hanc expendere Regnum,
Quo redimat gemmam, quæ pretiosa beat.’

It has been already mentioned that the Cardinal, John Casimir, in disgust and grief, resigned his crown. After trial by experience, he discovered that the dignity of prince of the Roman Church was far preferable to the regal cares annexed to the troublesome Crown of Poland. He obtained a French abbacy from Louis XIV., determined that no barren dignity, but quiet peace, should embrace his declining years. The world beheld the curious spectacle of the two last representatives of separate branches of the house of Vasa wandering over the face of Europe voluntarily stripped of their crowns.

Christina, tired of that privacy which the Cardinal sought, sent her chaplain, Father Hacki, on a political mission to Warsaw. Her candidature, however, was not acceptable to the Poles, who elected one of their own nobles to the vacant throne. It was well that Christina, after resigning the Crown of Sweden, was thus prevented from being involved in the hopeless difficulties and endless feuds connected with the administration of unhappy Poland. It was too late to begin life afresh with a new kingdom. It was better to be content to remain among the palaces of Rome, in the midst of ecclesiastical pomp and intellectual refinement, rather than to risk the chance of easy failure in regions yet untried.

V.

In the autumn of the year 1668, Christina was welcomed, on her return to Rome, with a magnificent reception from the recently elected Pope Clement IX., which bore some comparison to her happier entry within the walls of the Eternal City in all the ardour and enthusiasm of a new convert. From this date to the time of her death in 1689, she seldom journeyed beyond the

limits of the states of the Church. These last twenty years were, in comparison with the earlier days, years of quiet and rest. Christina now dropped that active interference in European politics with which she had previously loved to occupy her mind, and gave her whole time to study and meditations on the strange vicissitudes of human life, though in public she always maintained her usual vivacity.

After being an actor in the gay pageant, she came to regard the scene from the point of view of a spectator. With the majority of persons who take part in the public business of the world, the reverse is the case. In youth they watch the progress of the world's history; in manhood and old age they are permitted to direct the course of events. Christina, in later life, probably felt that the transition from sovereignty to privacy was really unnatural, and in many respects placed her in an impossible position. There is no doubt that the resignation of the crown of Sweden was the great mistake of her life, but it was an honourable mistake, a royal error. The hope of freedom from the control of mechanical ceremonial and the cares of royalty, and the honest striving after religious truth, prompted, while still young, the complete abandonment of the highest honours that the world can bestow—honours which some men have sacrificed integrity and honesty of purpose to obtain. Her genius, tempered and properly directed, would have conferred lasting benefits on mankind, instead of simply dazzling and astonishing her own generation.

The Queen of Sweden was thoroughly kind-hearted. Whenever she had the power, she loved to help others. Her conduct towards Count Wasenau was a signal instance of her general kindness. This Prince was a natural son of Uladislaus, King of Poland, and on the resignation of John Casimir, he wisely retired to Rome. Christina strongly advised him to seek refuge for the remainder of his days in some retired monastery. When she found that this advice was not followed, she induced Cardinal Albani to procure him an office in the Papal Court. Her letter of advice is expressed in terms of great freedom, and in an earnest spirit:—

'It seems to me that your best course would be to retire either to Monte-Casino, or to Vall' Ombrosa. . . . There is nothing for you nor for me to hope for, and one is happiest when one does not expect or hope for anything in this world. Man is made for something greater, and the world has nothing which can satisfy him. If you could become a monarch, and be surrounded with glory and pleasure, you would not be more satisfied than you are at present. . . . Give bravely the little that you have to God, and do not fear to lose by it. . . . What glory and pleasure to serve so good a master, and how happy am I to have given up so much for Him! This satisfaction is worth more than the empire of the world.'

At one time a report without any foundation was circulated in Sweden to the effect that Christina was dead. She at once wrote to Olivecranz, the governor of her domains, a characteristic epistle —

'Regarding the report of my death I am not surprised at it: there are many people who desire it. It is natural they should indulge in flattering illusions. . . . Above all let me assure you that neither fear nor interest will kill me. If there were no other cause of death than these, I should be immortal.'

The Council at Stockholm, to whom the executive functions of government were entrusted during the minority of Charles XI., was composed of the leaders of the nobility. This aristocratic rule bore no good fruit. A series of long and intricate intrigues and a declaration of war against Brandenburg was really the outcome of French bribes adroitly distributed amongst the more venal councillors. Dishonest policy proved vacillating. Frederick William, active and determined in council and the field, drove the Swedes out of Brandenburg, and pursued them into Pomerania. The payment of Christina's revenue was thus temporarily suspended. Just when the fortunes of Sweden appeared desperate, Charles XI. won the battle of Lund, and saved the Swedish possessions on the mainland. At the Diet of 1680 he threw off the aristocratic yoke that had hitherto enthralled him, and became in reality King. The nobles were forced to refund public money, and even to permit the resumption of crown lands. Thus Christina curiously enough lived to see the Swedish noblesse obtain almost unlimited power, and then submit to a complete overthrow. One of her own greatest troubles in the administration of government had been the con-

tinual effort she was forced to make to hold the balance between the contending interests of the Three Estates of the realm. During her own reign, she had successfully achieved this difficult object.

Though no longer taking part in the world's politics, Christina watched the course of events with keen interest. She had frequently declared her apprehensions in political circles as to the total insecurity of the Hungarian frontier on the side of Turkey. When she heard of Sobieski's magnificent defeat of the immense invading host with very inferior forces, she could not refrain from writing to congratulate the King of Poland on these heroic victories. 'Your Majesty has displayed to the world a great and noble spectacle by the deliverance of Vienna, and the memory of it should be immortalized in the annals of Christianity.'

Moreover Christina did not lose her love of toleration even in the atmosphere of suppression so prevalent at the Papal Court. Although a convert, she heartily hated religious persecution in all its forms. She rescued at least two fortunate persons from the terrible tortures of the Spanish Inquisition, and she was not afraid to express her absolute disapproval of the Dragonades, somewhat to the annoyance of the French Court. She was entirely free from that fanatic spirit which the adherents of a fresh creed are so often given to exhibit.

Though truly religious after her own fashion, her mind was not cast in a theological mould. There was nothing ascetic in her view of life. She considered that the good things of this world were given for man's enjoyment, and she had no scruple as to her full right to as much innocent pleasure as came in her way, nor was she careful to contradict the calumniations and depreciatory reports spread abroad by her enemies. As might be expected, the wildest stories were current in various parts of Europe. She once came across a book purporting to be a history of her own change of religious belief, and wrote on the fly leaf, 'he who knows nothing has written, he who knew has not written.' She was a faithful daughter, but no slave to the Pope. She even ventured to maintain her exclusive jurisdiction over her own household (a sore point with her) in spite of the resolute opposition of Innocent XI., and consequently lost her papal

pension of 12,000 dollars. For this deprivation she haughtily thanked his Holiness:—‘The pension which the Pope gave me was the one blot of my life, and I received it from God as the greatest humiliation to which He could put my pride. . . . I beg you to convey my thanks to the Cardinal Cibo, and the Pope, for relieving me from this obligation.’

On principle, it seems clear the Pope was in the right. It was a most obnoxious and injurious privilege to allow the houses of foreign ambassadors to be sanctuaries, and so to free their retinue from the ordinary civil jurisdiction of the Papal Courts. As a matter of fact, the embassy became an asylum for all sorts of criminals; the retinue became embroiled in every tumult. Only recently has international Law laid much practical restriction on such privileged abuses, and therefore the Papal action in this respect deserves the more credit. As soon as this conflict with the Pope became known over Europe, the Elector of Brandenburg invited Christina to visit his dominions. His invitation was wisely refused. Sometime she had rested in Rome, and the day was past for seeking another home. Soon she would require but a few feet of earth for her resting place.

In the evening of her days Christina retained her accustomed liveliness and vivacity, combined with the full use of her mental faculties. She announced that in her opinion Sweden ought to remain neutral in the European crisis of 1688, and foretold the wonderful success of the Prince of Orange together with its political effect on the nations—‘England and Holland united will make all Europe tremble, and will impose laws both by sea and land.’ When the time of fulfilment came, she entreated William III. to be kindly to his Roman Catholic subjects.

It seems probable that grief at the sudden death of a favourite servant, the Marquis del Monte, whose real character is very variously depicted, hastened on her own end. ‘I am inconsolable,’ she writes to the Marquis’ son, ‘at the loss we have sustained in your father, who as I trust surely is now in eternal glory.’ Early in the year 1689, she had a sharp attack of erysipelas from which she recovered contrary to her own expectations. A second attack in the month of April of the same year proved fatal. She died in full communion with the Roman

Church, and after the reception of the Papal absolution passed away so peacefully that it was hard to mark the moment of departure. She framed her own simple epitaph: 'Vixit Christina annos sexaginta tres.'

Pope Innocent gave her a public funeral of great magnificence, and his successor Clement erected a monument to her in the Church of S. Peter. Her own desire had been to find a quiet resting place in the Rotunda. After making suitable provision for the payment of her debts, and for the majority of the servants in her suite, Christina bequeathed the mass of her property to Cardinal Azzolini. No mention was made of Charles XI. in her will. At the hour of death the separation from Sweden was complete. Ultimately, the larger portion of her excellent library found its way into the Vatican Palace, that vast treasure house of literary spoil. Among the host of sepulchral monuments in the great Basilica of S. Peter—amongst the stately memorials erected to the honour of fallen royalty and the memory of impossible causes, a fit place was found for Christina's tomb.

VI.

An attempt has been made in the foregoing rapid sketch of the chief points in Christina's life to illustrate the real character of this remarkable woman, freed alike from the extravagant praise of Roman Catholic writers, and the unfair insinuations of Protestant criticism. Modern historians have been too much in the habit of dismissing this most interesting Queen of the North in a satirical strain, which has dealt out but scanty justice.*

Christina had doubtless many faults, but she possessed also brilliant virtues. The very acuteness and versatility, the very strangeness and manysidedness of her life and character, the wide experience of the world, combined with the different capacities in which she mixed with that world, all tend to enhance the general interest, and add to her special peculiarities. It would not be possible to state her striking characteristics in one terse sentence, yet if it be admissible from a certain point of view to

* e.g., Russel's *Modern Europe*, III., 384-8, ed. 1822.

speak of the first Napoleon as an epitome of the French idea of glory, then Christina might be described as an epitome of the literary tendencies of her age.

Just as Christina's sense of satire was so keen, and her appreciation of irony so vivid, so her humility was combined with much pride. The forced humility with which she endeavoured to crush her insulted pride after she had deserted her throne occasionally burst forth in its true colours. The fulness of her submission to the Roman Church is now and then limited by strange assertions of individual freedom and individual authority in the region of theology or the domain of politics. Her absolute devotion to the pursuit of truth in the wide, and then unexplored, field of natural science, is sometimes marred by superstitious yearnings after the forbidden secrets of alchemy and astrology. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Christina Alessandra was in a peculiar manner open to all the better impressions that came across her path, and was possessed of many earnest cravings and true aspirations far in advance of her own age and country. Amid all her restless playfulness and curious elasticity, and at times what we should now call indelicacy, she sought knowledge for its own sake, and she was content to believe in her better moments that the Christian religion was the highest good.

Perhaps it was not so much that her own genius was very extraordinary, but that she knew how to collect around her all the greatest wits and most distinguished philosophers of her own day, and quick as lightning to catch their more brilliant and salient points. Her *Reflections on Alexander and Cæsar* never obtained wide circulation. In fact, her own compositions show intense subtlety of intellect, and a keen knowledge of human nature, but are often wanting in moral grandeur. In the excellent portrait which has been preserved, the features are strongly marked, and appear capable of great variety of expression. The nose is large, the mouth powerful, and the eye bright. Some light has been thrown on Christina's character by what has gone before. Yet the real character of so subtle and refined a woman must ever be difficult to unravel. One thing at least is certain. She was a perfect lover of paradox—at one moment

loving power, at another despising all its pomp and ceremony ; at one moment conceiving of religion as the only good, at another half doubting whether there were any religion at all. At one time she would be totally immersed in political affairs, at another she would regard the arts of diplomacy as little better than a childish game of chance. One day she was the keen votary of satire, on the next she became the stern devotee of philosophical abstraction. 'The sea,' she once said, 'resembles great souls : however agitated the surface may be, the depth is always calm.' And again ; 'the good and evil of this world is like those perspectives which only amuse or deceive at a distance.'

R. S. MYLNE.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 3, 1896).—Dr. Link, Professor of New Testament Exegesis at Königsberg discusses here at considerable length, under the title, 'Die Dolmetscher des Petrus,' the question as to whether the Apostle Peter had or had not a sufficient knowledge of, and a sufficient facility in the use of, the Greek tongue to enable him to address in the course of his missionary journeys, Greek speaking audiences, and to write in that language. The discussion as to this has arisen from what Eusebius reports as taken from Papias, viz., that the presbyter John spoke of Mark as the *hermeneutes* of Peter. The same office is assigned, by Clement of Alexandria, to one Glaucias. But what function does the term indicate? Dr. Link briefly refers to the controversy on this point, and discusses the usage of the word in Greek writings, chiefly at the times of the Cæsars. He shows that its best equivalent is simply our dragoman, one who translates the utterances of a person addressing an audience, or a person, whose language he cannot himself speak, into their or his native tongue. It did not mean a secretary, an amanuensis, a help to a busy man, but one who rendered the speech or writing of one man into the language of those for whom it was intended. The necessary inference is that Peter was unable to address his hearers in certain districts in their own tongue. But then what tongue was that? Bleek maintained that it was and could only be Latin, which Mark had mastered when in Rome with Paul. This idea has found little favour, the consensus of opinion being that it was into Greek that Mark rendered the Aramaean of Peter. Dr. Link regards this as certain, and refers for one of the proofs of it to the fact that Peter was pre-eminently the apostle to the Circumcision, even in Rome, and that Greek was the language familiar to the Jews there, and the language in which their intercourse with their brethren in all provinces to the East was carried on. Further, he shows that the language of Papias indicates that Mark was Peter's *hermeneutes*, not in Rome only, but constantly in his missionary journeys. Dr. Link defends the same sense, against Zahn and Neander, of the term *hermeneutes* as applied to Glaucias by Clement of Alexandria in relation to Peter. His conclusion is, therefore, that Peter was not skilled in the use of the Greek tongue, and that the epistles and addresses

that have come down to us as his were not penned or spoken by him in the form in which they have come down to us.—The second article is by Professor Fredrick Blass, Professor of Classical Philology, at the University of Halle. It is titled, 'Neue Texteszeugen für die Apostelgeschichte.' The new witnesses are chiefly three; a Latin text from the early part of the thirteenth century and now in the Bibliothéque Nationale of Paris, No. 321; another, which is in the Royal Library at Wernigerode; and next a Provencal translation, dating from the thirteenth century. All vary in some important particulars from the Vulgate, and Professor Blass gives us, so far as the Acts of the Apostles is concerned, a list of these variants, as likely to aid in getting at a correct text of the original work.—Dr. Carl Clemen, Privat-Docent at Halle, follows with an elaborate and extremely interesting paper on 'Der Begriff "Religion" und seine verschiedenen Auffassungen.' He gives a series of the definitions of religion given by the most distinguished German writers, who have adventured such, grouping them according as they have regarded religion from the intellectual, aesthetic, or practical point of view. He then discusses the most important of them, and points out their merits and defects respectively.—Dr. Otto Kirn, Professor of Theology at Basel, treats of the significance of Law, and the Mosaic Law as a special form of it, for, or in, Christian ethics. His article bears the title 'Das Gesetz in der christlichen Ethik.'—The only other article here is by Herr Pfarrer Paul Durselen of Berlin, 'Über eine Darstellung des christlichen Glaubens vom Gnadenstande aus.'—Professor Beer of Halle reviews Dillmann's 'Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie,' a posthumous work of the celebrated Oriental scholar.

RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (January, 1896).—The first number of the present year opens with extracts or brief selections from the far-famed Indian writings, the Upanishads. The selections appear to have been made by a lady, who signs herself Vera Johnston. They are fitly opened by a brief motto from Schopenhauer, who says that 'Deep, independent, high thoughts meet one on every page of the Upanishads. This very rich and very high subject is a teaching for the world. It was a comfort in life and will be a comfort in death.' The translator has undertaken no easy task. As a medium of expression Russian is not at all to be compared with Sanscrit. As compared with Sanscrit it is as a language but of yesterday. Moreover it is so poor in expressions for *abstract* concep-

tions, that even when translating from a tongue so near to itself, in comparison with the Sanscrit, as the German, the translator has to occupy himself more and more with the selection and composition of such expressions as *things in themselves* or with *world-conception* in order to translate such terms as *Das Ding an sich* and *Weltanschauung*. Difficulties of this kind are the more hard to overcome when we have to do with translations from the Sanscrit tongue, which for fulness, of colouring and richness of expression is superior to any old or new European language.—The second article is on the autonomy of man and its various stadia or halting places, by L. E. Obolenskie.—The third article is by Prince Serge N. Trubetskoi, who takes for his subject the 'Foundation of Idealism.'—The last article but one in the general part of the journal is by the Russian thinker, Vladimir Solovieff, 'On the Reality of the Moral Order.' This article is immediately connected with a former, which appeared in No. 30 of the 'Voprosi,' November, 1895. The author sets out from the logical development of the religious sensation, the unconditional moral element, which is the source of the fulness of good, containing in itself the obligatory relation of all to all. This again realises itself as a complete moral order, otherwise a kingdom of God. But how pure moral good ought to be experienced, though admitted by every preacher of the Categorical Imperative, is according to the author a position which is not so easy to make out. He then enters upon a discussion of the validity of the *Ought—Das Sollen*, as formulated by Kant, conditioned by the unconditional obligation.—The concluding article is on the 'Development of the Idea of Imperial Necessity and Social Right in Italy,' as shown especially by the writings of Botero and Campanella.—On this follows an article on 'Temperament,' and the usual critical notices and bibliography.

ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (April 1).—P. Molmento describes the encyclopedic art of the Middle Ages.—G. Boglietti faithfully notes the progress which socialism has made in England, but asks what grounds William Morris and Belfort Bax have for their opinion that 'the advent of socialism is as inexorable and inevitable as the daily rising of the sun?'—P. Lioy writes on 'The Suggestions of the Unknown.'—G. Ricca Salerno discusses the progressive tax in England and France, giving a brief account of taxes in general.—The serial story 'The Sin of an Honest Woman,' by E. Castelnovo, is continued; and also the 'Origins of Poetry in Rome,' by E. Cocchia.—The

bibliographical bulletin praises General Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London*.—(April, 15th).—A portion of this number is devoted to a chapter from a book by Senator Finali, just published, entitled *Le Marche nel 1860*, in which Finali points out that hitherto an error has been committed by historians in attributing the victory of the battle of Castelfidardo to General Cialdini. That General was not in the battle, and knew nothing of it, only arriving when all was finished. But he had so far contributed to success, in that he had, by an able manœuvre, prevented General Lamoriciere from reinforcing the troops under General De Courten at Ancona, which fact greatly retarded the advance of the royal army into the kingdom of Naples. The greatest brunt of the battle, however, was borne by the Regina brigade, which had been led to victory by General Cialdini the year previous at Sesia.—C. F. Ferraris contributes a translation of part of Marx's *Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*.—G. Goiran writes on military reform.—E. Montecorboli has a long and appreciative article on Paul Verlaine.—The remaining numbers are continuations.—(May, 1st).—R. de Cesare points out the beginning of a new phase in the ecclesiastical policy of the Italian government, and that its new direction has already pacified the Vatican. Only a united action responding to the moral and political necessities of the State can exercise a beneficial influence and be productive of good.—F. Torraca writes about Sicilian schools, and 'Historical Materialism' by Signor Ferrari, and Castelnovo's romance are continued.—G. Cimbali explains the political wisdom of Giovanni Botero.—E. Mancini describes the progress made by and the future of electric lighting.—(May 16th).—E. Pinchia gives an interesting account of the family Debormida, the last hero of which lost his life at the battle of Adowah.—A. Salandra writes a statistical paper entitled 'Two Years of Finance,' and D. Carraroli a long article on the Hungarian Millennium.—'Africa in the Green Books,' by E. Arbib, clears up a great deal that was obscure in the Italian campaign.—(June, 1st)—C. Ricci contributes a careful study on the paintings of Tiepolo, who was neglected during the period following his own, but has now received the acknowledgment of which he was worthy.—E. Catellani, at the close of a paper describing events in the Soudan, advises Italy not to forget, should she be called to co-operate in the Soudan, that a *universal* equilibrium has succeeded or is rapidly succeeding to *European* equilibrium, and just as, in commerce, science has brought the most distant countries near, so in general politics, the world exists now as a whole, the parts of

which are the organs, and that in less than half a century to come, that European State which has no colonies and interests in all quarters of the world, will be simply wiped out from the list of great powers.—A. Luzio and R. Renier commence a series of papers on the luxury of Isabella of Este, describing her wardrobe, the customs of the Renaissance, the influence on Italy of foreign countries, the inefficacy of sumptuary laws, and the setting of the 'fashion' by Isabella.—P. Lioty writes an interesting article on rustic literature.—O. Grande begins a novel 'The Cloud.'—D. Cortese writes on the 'New Spirit,' which he says is as old as the world.—E. G. Boner discusses the Finnish 'Kalewala.'—(June, 19th).—Besides continuations of previous papers, F. d'Ovidio writes on the sonnet addressed to Dante by Cavalcanti; and I. Guidi on 'Ancient Abyssinia.'—C. Segrè criticises Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* in an unfavourable manner. He calls the book 'the strongest example of the modern spirit ever seen.' 'If Thackeray or Dickens could rise from the grave and hear the applause bestowed on this book, they would think modern men had been seized with a fit of madness.' 'The author,' the critic goes on to say, 'tries to prove that man is the mere victim and tool of his social surroundings. Love is the theme of the book, but the reader who looks for the old tenderness and calm in that passion will be cruelly disappointed. It is a saddening thing that a book like *Jude the Obscure* should have been conceived and found admirers in a country like England, where usually there prevails a simple and strict sense of justice. The evil has penetrated deep, and it is time to rise and oppose the poisonous current, which will otherwise gain ground. With Carducci, the whole field of art should cry out "We must return to the traditions of our grand masters!"'—G. Fraisan writes on money circulation in Italy.—O. Z. Bianco reports the latest researches in 'Uranos' and 'Neptune.'

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (April 1).—G. Zaccagni contributes an article on the late Signor Bonghi.—G. Villa concludes his paper on 'The Naturalist Romance,' in which he criticises the modern French, Russian, and German psychological writers, and comes to the conclusion that art should not be monopolized by any one school, for a really good work of art is neither classic, romantic, realistic nor socialistic; neither idealistic nor psychological in its tone. Who would think of classifying as belonging to a special school the 'Don Quixote' or the 'Promessi Sposi?' When a work of art arouses discussion, it is a proof that it may have all qualities but the supreme one of being a masterpiece of art. No one dreams of

discussing the artistic value of Shakspeare's dramas, while those of Victor Hugo stir up tempests of argument; and, to come lower down in the scale, no one thinks of discussing Daudet's romances, while every one fights about Zola's. Ibsen is violently discussed, but not Sundermann. Art is derived from intuition of life, and no æsthetic or philosophical theory can give that intuition when it is wanting.—J. Isola writes a 'Memoir of Cesare Cantu,' in commemoration of the first anniversary of the historian's death.—'Regulus' briefly relates the story of the rule of the Dervishes from the rise of the Mahdi till now. He alludes to the struggle of the English, Abyssinians, and Italians with the dervishes, and insists on the necessity of exterminating their barbarous race. If the Italians and Abyssinians had allied themselves against the common enemy, and the English had not waited for the battle of Adowah before moving on Dongola, the power of the Dervishes would have been already broken. The present expedition of the English will perhaps have greater consequences than is now foreseen. It is to be hoped that a blow will be struck against the dervishes from Kassala and Dongola from which they will never recover, and that the fanaticism which has devastated, some fifteen years, the region which Europe believed she had reclaimed for civilization, will cease.—P. Stoppani writes on Lourdes, a paper which gives the Catholic point of view.—(April 16).—G. Grabinski, writing on the new *Vie de Saint Francois d'Assise*, by Paul Sabatier, says that while rendering due homage to the literary and paleographic value of this work, he is constrained to conclude that Sabatier has not given the world a page of objective history, but a treatise too much imbued with Protestant prejudice and the rationalistic spirit of negation. Sabatier is no doubt sincere, but his book is, in times like the present, a danger. Grabinski then subjects the book to strict criticism, and concludes by hoping that some literary man of value will take upon himself the easy task of writing a history of the Saint worthy to rival that of Sabatier, while combating the errors in the latter.—P. Rossi furnishes a statistical article on the industries of the province of Verona.—(May 1st).—In an article called 'Abandoned Infancy' C. Bassi cites the example set in England by the 'National Society for the prevention of cruelty to Children,' describing what it has done. He says that Italy has 30 millions of inhabitants, and if only a fourth of that number would subscribe the trifling sum of one *soldo* a day for such an institution much could be done. At least 55,000 abandoned children could be cared for and educated.—

E. Artoum describes the financial syndicates of England.—The dialogues on the Temporal Power are continued, and T. Regulus writes on Sicily.—(May 16th)—A. von Schwarz describes the ancient divination by fire, traces of which superstition may still be traced in some parts of Italy.—N. Bardelli reviews M. Sigogue's 'L'Art de parler.'—R. Mazzei contributes a paper on 'God in Art.'—Then follows the pastoral letter addressed to his people by the Bishop of Cremona on emigration, full of good advice to struggling Italians.—G. Grabinski contributes a memoir of the late Cardinal Galimberti.—(June 1st)—I. Petroni discusses the philosophy of law in the light of critical idealism.—There is a review by A. Ghigusni of a recent volume of remarkable poems by G. Bertache.—The proceedings of the trial of General Baratieri are fully published.—(June 16th)—G. Marcotti writes a long interesting article on 'Unknown France' describing caverns, valleys, the various churches and abbeys, ancient ruins, etc.—T. Luxow has much to say on the bestowal of prizes on art productions.—P. S. writes on social legislation.—Regulus on the recent deplorable events in Crete, and V. Recci on decentralization.

LA VITA ITALIANA (May).—'To the Marquis of Rudini.'—'Africa in legend and history,' by Prof. De Gubernatis.—'Tarquinia Corneto.'—'Baroness Corti.'—'Enrique Serra.'—'The Cock's Tower at Florence.'—'A glance at the sky.'—'Venetian charity.'—'Paolina Leopardi.'—'The Valley of Pompei.'—'Constantinople.'—'Veronese dialectic poets.'

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (May).—'A morphologic problem regarding the superior vertebrates.'—'Vittorio Alfieri.'—'The genesis of moral sense in relation to the organic sexual differences of the human race.'—'A musical drama,' by Metaotásis.—'The perils of Vaticanism in the Italian State.'—'Positivism and the problem of liberty.'

NAPOLI NOBILISSIMA (May).—Contains: 'The Bass-relief at Porto and the legend of Nicolo Pesce,' by Benedetto Croce, in which are noticed recent studies on the curious legend above mentioned, and a very rare Spanish romance of the beginning of the 17th century is described.—'The Church of S. Teresa agli Studi,' by G. Ceci.—Documents, notes, etc.

EMPORIUM (May).—'Adolf Menzel.'—'Astronomers and Observers,' by F. Porro.—'Elizabeth Barrett Browning.'—'The House of the Vettii at Pompei.'—'A Precursor of Lombroso in the 17th century.'—'The Scientific Hygienic Institutions in Italy,' etc.

GIORNALE DEGLI ECONOMISTA (May) contains: 'The Spread of the Americans.'—'The Agronomic Base of the theory of Rents.'—'The Reform of Local Taxes.'—'The Banks in the Province of Reggio Emilia.'—'Providence,' etc.

NATURA ED ARTE (April 1)—contains: 'The Resurrection of Italian Art.'—'The Poets of the Country—Giovanni Guidiccioni.'—(April 15).—'Women and Jewels.'—'The Descendants of the Queen of Sheba.'—'The Evangelists of Francesco Podesti.'—'Giannino Baglioni,' pretender to France, which is a curious and little known story of a pretender to the throne of France. A certain Guccio Baglioni, who lived in Siena at the end of the 13th century, went to establish himself in Paris, and there secretly married a noble lady, Marie di Carcy, by whom he had a son, who was named Giannino. The marriage being discovered, the father was obliged to fly, but, nine years later, was able to return to France, where he went to fetch Giannino, with whom he returned to Siena. But, so the story runs, it was not his son whom he had fetched but the Dauphin of France! During the ceremony of baptism this son of King Louis had been exchanged with the son of Baglioni, in order to save the former from the intrigues of Prince Philip, who aspired to the throne. The real son of Baglioni died in infancy. The exchange of children was revealed by Marie di Carcy to her confessor on her deathbed, twenty years later. The confessor went to Rome, and told all to Cola di Rienzi, then a tribune, who sent for the supposed Giannino Baglioni, who was still living at Siena, and revealed to him his real personality, proving it by documents and the testimony of Marie di Carcy's confessor. Cola di Rienzi urged the young man to claim his rights, promising to give him his support. Soon after Rienzi died. The pretender returned to Siena and compiled a memorandum begging the sovereigns of Europe for their protection, and forwarded six copies in Italy and six abroad. He received no reply whatever, and went to Venice to induce that Republic to take his part, but without effect. He then made another attempt with the King of Hungary, but failed, and thereupon returned to Siena, where a rich Jew furnished him with money on the promise that if he attained to the throne he would not allow the Jews to be persecuted. In 1360 Giannino went to Avignon, where the Pope refused to receive him. He then gathered together a troop of adventurers and marched on Lyons, but he was betrayed, arrested by order of the Pope, and imprisoned in the castle of Marseilles. Thence he was sent to Naples, and kept in the Castle dell' Voo, where he died in 1363. There exists a docu-

ment in the parish of Saint Domenic in Siena, a book containing the lists of death, wherein is registered the death of Giannino Baglioni, with the note that on his corpse was found the cross which it was the custom to impress on the shoulder of a dauphin of France 'and all dependents of the Royal House of France.' The author of the article, Signor Arrighi, suggests that the foreign archives should be examined in order to ascertain whether any of them contain a document relating to the subject of this story. — 'On the Julian Alps.' — 'Submarine Telegraphs.' — 'Pictures in *tempora* and *al fresco*.' — 'Marat as a Journalist.' — An inedited letter written in Italian by Alexander Dumas *fil.* — (April 15) — In this number is published, contributed by a lady residing in Reggio, a letter in *broken Italian*, by Alexander Dumas *fil.*, which, translated, runs thus: — 'Sir, only to-day have I returned from a little journey into the interior of France; I found your book, for which I thank you a thousand times. My first moment shall be employed in reading it, and I shall be honoured and fortunate in finding myself at once your admirer and political friend. Pardon my bad Italian; I shall be more learned when I have read your book. Believe me, your devoted, A. Dumas. Rue St. Lazare, 40.' — The May numbers contain: 'Prizes at the Rome Exhibition of Fine Arts.' — 'Melan's Hermitage at Little S. Bernard and Aosta.' — 'Scraps of Medical Science.' — 'Marco Minghelti as a Soldier.' — 'Ostende and Scheveningro.' — 'The Springtime of Italian Painting.' — 'G. Rouvetta and his First Historic Drama.' — 'The 15th May, 1848, at Naples.' — 'A French Doctor, Friend of Italy, Peter de Nolhac.' — 'The Commensalism of Animals.' — 'The Olympic Games,' etc.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1896). — M. J. Philippe continues and concludes his series of studies on 'Lucretius in Christian Theology from the first to the thirteenth century, and specially in the Carovingian Schools.' In this, the third of the series, he shows from the writings of the distinguished theologians of the eighth century, and after, that Lucretius continued to be read and studied by them, and that his influence was very widely felt in the whole Western Church, and affected the exegesis, the physics, and the metaphysics of the schools. Though branded as a heretic and an atheist of the deepest dye, and volumes were devoted to the refutation of his opinions, yet copies of his works were carefully treasured in abbeys and monasteries, and the reflex of

his teaching is seen in the writings of many who scrupulously avoid mentioning his name. M. Philippe establishes all his points by numerous quotations, and often places the lines of Lucretius in footnotes so that the value of his assertions may be tested by his readers for themselves.—There follows the second part of M. Frederic Macler's article on 'The Apocryphal Apocalypses of Daniel.' In accordance with the promise given in the last section, he gives us here a translation of the Coptic version. It is only the first part of the translation which is given in this number; the rest will follow in order. It is here preceded by a brief introduction, describing the persecutions which the Copts suffered at the hands of the various powers that ruled over Egypt. It was these persecutions which furnished the cause of the rise and development of this kind of literature in the Christian communities there, as elsewhere. The persecution under Diocletian, and those instituted by the Byzantine emperors, were followed by even more terrible measures taken against the Copts by the Arabs, whom the former had invited to come to their help. Driven to despair by their severe and prolonged sufferings, the Christians in Egypt sought refuge in the hope of the future,—in the foretold coming of the Messiah a second time to gather together his redeemed and deliver them from all their enemies, introducing then a glorious era of peace and felicity. Mr. Macler, in his introduction, gives us also a short summary of the contents of this apocalypse, while in a series of footnotes, which accompany the translation, he shows how closely the writer, or writers, of it adhered to the historical setting and form of the canonical Daniel. After the introduction to the apocalypse, which, like that of Daniel itself, is in appearance historical, the prophet depicts a vision concerning the kingdom of the children of Ishmael. During the reign of the nineteenth and last king of that race over Egypt, his enemy, Pitourgos, will come against him, and put him to flight and to death. Next will come the king of the Romans. Gog and Magog will after that convulse the earth; then will appear the antichrist; and finally the Ancient of Days, who will destroy the antichrist, and then reign for ever. At the close of the apocalypse Daniel receives from God the command to seal up all these things unto the time of their accomplishment.—M. L. Marillier next continues, and here concludes, his exhaustive review of Dr. Edward Caird's Gifford Lectures on the 'Evolution of Religion.' It is nearly a year and a half since the first part of this review appeared, and we had begun to fear that surely the sequel of it had miscarried. The first part gave a summary of the con-

tents of the work, and paid a warm tribute to the lucidity and charm of the author's style, and to the philosophical value of the work; the reviewer then promising to subject the volumes to a careful scrutiny later on. That promise is fully fulfilled here. M. Marillier's criticisms, however, are given with a kindly hand. Of course the title of the work, read in the light of its contents, is found fault with, as by almost all its critics on this side of the channel. The limits within which Dr. Caird confined himself in treating his subject, M. M. thinks, as many others have done, have necessarily prevented him from giving anything like an adequate account of the evolution of religion. It is the evolution of Christianity only that he has traced, and sought to trace, in his lectures. His conclusions, therefore, as to the evolution of religion may be correct, but it is impossible for him, excluding, as he has done, so many religions from account, to demonstrate their accuracy. Another fault found with Dr. Caird's treatment of his subject is, that he constantly looks at religion from the intellectual side, regards it, that is, as a system of opinions, as the product of human reason, or reasoning, and so fails to take, or to take sufficient, note of the complex parentage of it,—the emotions, sentiments, fears, and fancies, that all play their part in the genesis and development of religion. Dr. Caird is here throughout the metaphysician, and has forgotten that to carry out his self-imposed task it was necessary for him to lay aside for the time being that character, and to become the historian pure and simple. M. Marillier's article here is not only a masterly review of Dr. Caird's lectures, but forms in itself a valuable contribution to religious science.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1896).—M. the Abbé de Moor continues here his essay on 'The origin of the Egyptian people and its civilization, according to Egyptian legend and the Bible.' It will be remembered from previous summaries that the learned Abbé thinks he has discovered the secret of, or the key to the right interpretation of, the Osirian legend, which has hitherto puzzled Egyptologists, folklorists, and others. He has found the key, he thinks, in the Genesis narratives, which bear on the origin and early history of the race, and in the references, elsewhere made, chiefly in the apocalyptic literature, Jewish and Christian, to the revolt of the angels and their consequent expulsion from heaven. All these things, the learned Abbé takes, of course, to be historical facts, and, taking them as such, he here endeavours to show in detail how the Osirian legend, when read in the light of these facts, becomes intelligible, and is seen to be in harmony with the Biblical

record. The Osirian legend, he regards, as a much corrupted and disfigured version of the story of the revolt of the angels under Satan, of the history of the Cainites, the Abelites, and the Sethites, and of the corruption of the race through sin, and its subsequent destruction by the flood. In these facts we have, M. de Moor tells us, the real foundations of the Egyptian legend; and with these facts before us, we are now able to spell out its true significance. They enable us to strip off the accretions due to generations of fanciful *conteurs*, who endeavoured to make up for their pardonable ignorance, or faulty memories, by the liveliness of their poetic imagination. M. de Moor carries forward here his self-imposed task of unravelling this tangled skein of fact and fancy. The details, of course, are very numerous, and the success of his effort can only be judged by those who carefully read the learned Abbé's paper throughout. The revolt of the children of Ra against him, in the Egyptian legend is, it seems, a distorted reminiscence of the Satanic revolt. The Isis of the legend is the Satan of the Biblical tradition. The punishment ordered to be inflicted by Ra, is also but a distorted version of the destruction of the race as given in the Biblical story of the flood. In fact we have but to read the Egyptian legend in the light of the early chapters of Genesis, making liberal allowance for forgetfulness of details inevitable in the course of time, and the process of identification becomes comparatively easy.—M. Castonnet des Fosses continues next his paper on 'Japan from the religious point of view.' He gives us here an historical outline of the planting and growth of Buddhism in Japan. The ancient Shinto faith, he tells us, is professed to-day by about a third only of the people of Japan. The various sects that continue to exist up to now are described, so far as their leading tenets are concerned; the number of their temples respectively and of their priests is roughly given; and the attitude in which their adherents stand to the sects differing from them, or the members thereof, is indicated. It is an attitude of contemptuous, rather than of benevolent, neutrality.—Dr. P. Bourdais follows with a study in Egyptian hierology. It bears the title 'La production des êtres par la Divinité.' The writer seeks in his article to show from several Egyptian hymns that the idea that everything was created, (all beings included), not by God, the Supreme Being, but by one who bore the name of the Word, and the Truth, la Parole, la Verite, was familiar to the Egyptians from the most remote times. He concludes, therefore, that we have here a reminiscence of the primeval fact, preserved to us in the Bible in its purity,

that all things were created by the Logos, the second person of the Trinity.—M. the Abbé Loisy furnishes a short study on the last fragment of the book of Jashar, 'Le dernier fragment du Jasar.' The last quotation from that lost work is not, as M. Renan, and others with him, have thought, David's lament over Saul's and Jonathan's death. There is a still later quotation from it, one which belongs to the time of Solomon. It appears in the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple. It occurs in 1 Kings, viii. 13. It is wanting in that place in the lxx. version, but appears later on in the prayer, viz., at the end of it, and is there accompanied by a valuable note, 'Behold, is not this written in the Book of the Song?' The translator from the Hebrew has, however, M. Loisy thinks, slightly misread his text here, in fact confounded the final *resh* of the word before him with *daleth*, and so read 'Song' instead of 'Jasar.' The study is of considerable interest, and merits the attention of Biblical students.—The 'Chronique' here, as usual, is of a somewhat cosmopolitan character; and the appreciations of the literature of the two months cannot but be helpful to all the readers of the *Revue*.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (No. 4, 1895).—M. Theodore Reinach has the first place here with an article headed 'L'Empereur Claude et les antisemites alexandrines d'après un nouveau papyrus.' The new papyrus has a somewhat curious history. Part of it, but in a very mutilated condition, was discovered lately in the Berlin Museum, and was published, translated, and commented on, in *Hermes*, xxx. 485ff., by Herr Wilcken. But another fragment of it has since been discovered in the Museum at Gizeh by M. Pierre Jouguet, and was reported by him in his annual Memoire to the Academie des Inscriptions of Paris. M. Reinach saw at once that it formed part of the document lately published by Herr Wilcken, and, acquainting M. Jouguet with the fact, was promptly furnished by him with a copy of the Gizeh papyrus. M. Reinach, taking advantage of this kindness, and with M. Jouguet's permission, publishes here both fragments, and details the legal process of which it gives an account. It tells of a trial which took place before the Emperor Claudius at Rome in presence of an august assemblage of notables, one of whom was the Empress. The accused was King Agrippa (Wilcken identifies him with Agrippa II., but M. Reinach disposes of that idea very summarily, and shows that it must have been Herod Agrippa I.). The accusation was evidently brought against Agrippa by certain bitter opponents of the Jews in Alexandria in Egypt, who had been enraged at the

pomp displayed by Agrippa when passing through that city on his way from Rome in 38 A.D. to take possession of his Tetrarchy, as also, doubtless, by the many favours he had then and afterwards shown to the Jewish colony there whenever occasion offered. It was he, too, who secured for the Jews in Egypt an edict from Claudius, when he came to the throne, securing to them the enjoyment of all their former privileges. To those in Alexandria who hated the Jews, and they were seemingly not few, this was an unpardonable offence. Fragmentary as the papyrus still is, it enables M. Reinach to follow so far the course of the trial, and to show that Claudius was favourable to the accused. If M. Reinach is correct in this, then the trial took place in the year 41.—The second article is by M. Ludwig Blau. It is on the 'Origine et Histoire, de la lecture du Schema et des formules de benediction qui l'accompagnent.' M. Blau acknowledges that it is now impossible to say with any certainty when the use of it was first introduced into Jewish services. He thinks, however, that what forms the first part of it, viz., Deut. vi. 4-9, came very probably to be repeated early in the Persian period by the officiating priests in the temple, just before the offering of the morning sacrifice, and this as a testimony that the sacrifice was offered to Jahveh, the true and only God, and not to the Persian deity, the god of light. The history of the additions that were made to the first formula in the course of time is also involved in considerable obscurity, although it may be traced with more certain results in regard to many points. The references to the reading or repetition of Shema are very numerous in the Talmudic writers, and M. Blau here adduces a large number of them to establish the time and place he assigns to the additions made to it up to its receiving its present form. He discusses the whole question with great learning and quite scholarly patience.—M. Israel Levi next devotes a few pages to refuting the claims so long and so often made by Jewish writers in regard to Hillel that he was of Davidic origin. He examines the documents on whose testimony the claim has been based, and shows very clearly how little value can be placed on them. He brings forward also a formidable array of very strong objections against the validity of the claim.—There are several noteworthy articles in addition to these in this number, though they do not extend to such dimensions. M. Martin Schreiner furnishes interesting 'Contributions à l'histoire des Juifs en Egypte.'—M. D. Kautmann two short studies, viz., (1) 'Les 24 martyrs d'Ancone,' and (2) 'Deux lettres nouvelles des Marranes aux Levantins'

touchant l'interruptions des affaires avec Ancone.'—M. Kohut discourses on 'Le Had Gadya et les chansons similaires.'—M. Bloch concludes his paper, 'Une expulsion de Juifs en Alsace au XVI. siècle.'—M. Weill writes on 'Les Juifs et le Saint Simonism.'—The 'Notes et Melanges' are also very numerous, and embrace a rich variety of exegetic, grammatical, and historical matters.—The 'Bibliographie' is contributed by M. Mayer Lambert and M. W. Bacher. It contains critical appreciations of recent works by Landau, H. L. Strack, and Samuel Poznanski.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (May, 1896).—A. Fouillée's 'Necessity for a Psychological and Sociological Interpretation of the World' discusses the various theories of the universe, and concludes that the psychological can explain the physical but not *vice versa*—'how can we explain this reality [which lies behind sensible appearances] except after the type of the sole reality known to us immediately and in itself, I mean our conscious existence?' In the same way the author lays stress on the idea of organism in the universe as well as in human society.—The first portion of a paper by F. Le Dantec on 'The Chemical Evolution of Species' considers the effect of surrounding fluids in destroying or altering low forms of life.—George Fonsegrieve concludes his 'Generalisation and Induction.' He denies that there is aught in induction which constitutes a special form of reasoning, an original discursus of the mind.—A note on experiments on perception of coloured objects by L. Duprat.—(June, 1896).—'Experimental Researches on Joy and Sorrow,' by G. Dumas. The present instalment deals with joy in its physical aspects. 'The primitive and essential condition of joy is cerebral vaso-dilation, accompanied by acceleration of the pulse and respiration, and by excessive mental activity.' Several observations of cases of insanity from the Sainte-Anne Hospital are given, from which M. Dumas shows that those madmen who imagine themselves kings, millionaires, etc., owe their delusions to their physical condition. 'In the case of general paralysis, vaso-dilation is anterior to any intellectual condition.' In short the mental and physical phenomena of joy act and react on one another.—In 'The Involution and Relative order of Ideas as revealed by Language' M. de la Grasserie draws attention to the importance of language as an index of mental habits.—M. Ch. Féré in 'The Hand, Prehension, and Touch' has a variety of interesting information to offer. He concludes that 'like all other organs of sense and motion the hand offers considerable individual varieties. A considerable number of de-

fects are incapable of being corrected by exercise. Just as deaf and colour-blind persons should be debarred from certain studies, so should those furnished with imperfect hands. Just as in some individuals the eye or the ear can convey only incomplete or false notions to the mind, so the hand in others. The hand is at once the agent and the interpreter of mental development, and deserves more attention on the part of physiologists and psychologists, who have somewhat neglected it.—A note on the idea of the Social Organism.—Reviews of Books.—Summaries of Russian (May) and German (June) philosophical journals.—(July, 1896).—M. L. Dauriac continues his 'Study in the Psychology of the Musician,' and seeks to investigate the nature of the pleasure produced by music.—Dr. Dumas' 'Experimental Researches on Joy and Grief' (second part) deals with the physical phenomena of grief.—An interesting paper on 'The Logic of the Infant' by Dr. Bernard Munz, translated by A. Keller.—The 'General Review of Psychophysics' analyses the articles on the subject which have appeared in German periodicals from April 1895 to April of this year.—Reviews of Books.—Summaries of American and English psychological magazines.

REVUE SEMITIQUE D'EPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 2, 1896).—M. J. Halévy's 'Recherches Bibliques' in this No., continue his critical examination of the text of Genesis, and his notes for the interpretation of the Psalms. The Genesis section embraces chap. xxviii. 10, on to the end of chap. xxxi., that is, the history of Jacob from his flight from Beersheba to his return from Haran as far as Mount Gilead, where he finally parted from Laban. The order followed by M. Halévy is the same as in the former sections. A brief summary is given of the contents of the section; the Hebrew text is then minutely examined, emendations, where thought necessary, are suggested, and explanatory notes are given of words or phrases, which the fuller and more accurate knowledge of Hebrew as a language, and of Semitic customs, in these days, enables a scholar like M. Halévy to give; and finally, there is a section devoted to showing the unity of the text throughout, in opposition to the dismemberment and partitioning of the text to this and that writer, as is done by the so-called modern critical school. M. Halévy's explanatory notes are often very ingenious, if not always convincing, while his emendations of the text are invariably such as are, at least, justifiable, and render the meaning clearer and more consistent with the context. As in the margin of the Revised Version, so here, M. Halévy in Gen. xxviii. 13, renders the proposition as 'beside,'

not as 'above,' as in our Authorised Version. Jahve stood *beside* Jacob, when he spoke to him, and not at the top of the ladder. As instances of M. Halévy's explanatory and illustrative notes, both of their strength and of their weakness, we might select the following. Jacob's astonishment was not, we are told, caused by the theophany itself; it arose from his own ignorance of the sanctity of the place, seeing that it had been a consecrated place since at least the days of Abraham. Again we are told, Leah received but one servant on the occasion of her marriage, because Jacob brought no dowry; while Rebecca was sent away with a numerous retinue of servants because her parents received, through the negotiating messenger, numerous and costly gifts. Again, the reason why Rachel stole her father's teraphim, M. Halévy tells us, was merely to prevent her father from divining by means of them the route the fugitives had taken, a somewhat foolish precaution, surely, when we think of the number of retainers that accompanied Jacob, and the numerous flocks and herds he owned. The chief interest of these Genesis studies, however, lies in their vindication of the substantial unity of the text. In regard to the section before him here, he has chiefly Dillmann in his mind; and it is in opposition to his arguments that he here defends the consecutiveness of the narrative, and its perfect harmony with all that precedes it. The section devoted to the Psalms embraces Psalms xlv. to lvii. inclusive. Here again the text is subjected to a minute and scholarly analysis, its errors, arising probably from the mistakes of copyists, are noted, and corrections suggested; explanatory notes are given where thought to be needed, and reasons are offered for assigning, where possible, the date of composition and originating occasion for each. A lengthy inscription from a cuneiform text follows, here transcribed and translated by M. Halévy also.—M. Alfred Boissier furnishes, in the same way, two fragmentary texts relating to Shamash-shum-ukin. They are accompanied with explanatory notes.—An interesting article follows, again by M. J. Halévy, on the influence of the Pentateuch on the Avesta. The similarity between these works in their account of the creation of the world and of the human race through a single pair; in their account of the introduction of sin into the world, and of the destruction of the race that followed; their descriptions of the intimate relations existing between the Deity and the pre-eminently just man; these points of similarity have been long observed, and have frequently provoked the question, which of the two works is the older and has been utilised by the other. At

first the Avesta was favoured, and Genesis was regarded as having borrowed from it. M. Halévy has always been inclined to award the priority to the Pentateuch. He succeeded in bringing the late M. James Darmesteter to the same opinion. M. Halévy here re-states his conclusions on this subject, and adds some weighty reasons for still holding to his early conviction.—M. Blochet furnishes a short note on the form of the future tense in Pehlevi; M. J. Perruchon continues his 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiophe;' M. Halévy gives a revised and corrected version of the first inscription of Bar-Rekoub, and some short notes on other matters; and finally reviews several recent books on subjects kindred to those to which this *Revue* is consecrated.

REVUE DU MONDE LATIN (March, 1896).—'The Monk in the XIth and XIIth Centuries, a Study in Social Psychology,' by A. Baure.—'Letter from Roumania.'—'Phosphates of Lime,' by E. Plauchud.—'Letter from Portugal,' by E. Castilho.—'Promenades Fructuenses,' a slight sketch by Madame Fertault.—'Voiles en Vue,' and translations of Horace's odes to Virgil and Lydia, by M. Durand-Gonzague.—Chronique Théâtrale by the Editor.

SPAIN.

LA ESPANA MODERNA (April, 1896).—Juan Valera criticises a work on the Jesuits, recently issued anonymously, and dealing with their claims to superior humility and actual pride. The writer claims to review the position of the Jesuits with knowledge, as he does with acumen, and seeks to show that the anonymous author does them injustice. He acknowledges at the same time, that the Jesuits of the present day display a limitation and narrowness of aim opposed to their original aspirations. 'They forget that the letter kills and the spirit vivifies, and forget what the spirit of truth will do to glorify all truth before the eyes of those who follow it.' A criticism of the 'Sample Tales of Cervantes,' Las Novelas Ejemplares, notes that the author claims them to be the first to appear in Spanish; to which the Marquis of Casa-Torre adds 'even in any language.'—Echegaray continues his Reminiscences, and these are followed by 'The Adventures and Misadventures of an old Soldier,' which continue to give a curious insight into the ordinary life of the country during the century. The anecdotes are not always such as could be printed in an English periodical! The tradition that literature is for male creatures has not yet been dissipated in Spain.—'The Salons of the Countess of Montijo' continue to afford interest, and amusement to the historian and society reader.—A. de Val-

buenna tells a curious tale of the condition of Spanish official maps, which may help to explain the state of ignorance of Cuban geography amongst the military.—‘The Literary Chronicle’ deals with Scandinavian literature, and the orthographic reform in Chili. The writer appeals against the *democratisation* of the spelling, by the elimination of what is historic and erudite. ‘The International Chronicle’ explains clearly and well the situation in Egypt, and shows how the French blundered in retiring from the dual control there.’ ‘The International Press’ handles Tolstoi’s Parables; Wolf’s Spanish and Portuguese Literature is continued, and Book Notices are full.—(May, 1896)—‘The Salons of the Countess of Montijo’ ends in this number, with the notice of the private theatricals that inaugurated the proclamation of Alfonso XII. as King of Spain.—‘The Adventures of an old Soldier’ show how utterly ignorant the common soldiers were of the cause they died for, or why or for whom they fought. ‘The people who rob and kill are not the people but the *mob*,’ or the *roughs* as we might say, is given in a popular distich. The old soldier sums up with the assurance that ‘everything political is evil,’ and in better managed lands than in Spain this is becoming an accepted axiom. It is clear also from his account that Spain does not treat her veterans any better say—than England! ‘Reminiscences,’ the chatty recollections of Echegaray, continue. ‘Recollections of Bequer,’ by Miguel S. Oliver, is written with appreciative sympathy. Emilio Pardo Bazan completes her smart novel of ‘Adam and Eve,’ the memoirs of a Highlander.—‘The International Press’ translates a clever article from the French *Review of Reviews*, on the Russian Nobles, showing how they have nothing in common with Western aristocracy at any period of the growth of the latter. In commenting on an article in ‘Social Science’ of Barcelona, on ‘The Intellectual Youth of Spain,’ by Sr. Unamuno, a frank admission is made—‘One may say that intellectual progress follows the wealth and power of nations. Our culture corresponds, in this respect, to our present historic situation’; and he acknowledges that after a century of struggle, internal and otherwise, Spain is exhausted and asleep. A valuable paper on an interesting subject, Bibliography and ‘Castilian and Portuguese Literature,’ close a good number.—(June, 1896)—‘The Sociological novel,’ of which *Looking Backward* is a type, is the theme of a good paper by A. Builla y Alegre.—‘The Adventures of an old Soldier’ continues full of short anecdotes, mainly of the civil wars in Spain. In this connection he justly remarks, that especially in civil wars should it be the case that the combatants fight to conquer and not to slay.—The ‘New Biography of the Abbe Manchena,’ by Menendez

y Pelayo, is a small edition for scholars. For the reviewer explains, that this notable propagandist of the irreligious philosophy of the 18th century, and foremost revolutionist of that age in Spain, finds no intellectual sympathy, but the reverse, in him, his biographer. His life was full of interest and activity, and it is well for it to be within the reach of students of history and human progress.—‘The Evolution of Political Parties in Spain,’ is a critical study of the growth of the present political divisions in that country, by Rafael Salillas.—‘The International Chronicle’ treats of the dangers in Europe and Asia, and sees great cause for anxiety in the conduct and position of Prince Ferdinand and of Bulgaria.—‘The Spanish Criminal’ is a study, philological, psychological, and sociological, by Sr. Salillas.—A clever work from Richter commences in the ‘International Press,’ entitled ‘After the Victory of Socialism—The Feast of Victory.’ It commences: ‘The red flag, symbol of international democracy, flutters in the royal palace and in all the public buildings of Berlin,’ etc., etc. ‘Castillian and Portuguese Literature,’ Bibliography, and new works published, make up a full and useful number.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (May).—This number begins with a story by Cyriel Buysse, ‘Mr. Ongena’s Vexation,’ a story which is a clever delineation of lower middle class life but the *denouement*—the finding of a tape worm inside one of the characters is inexpressibly disgusting.—‘A theory of Smell,’ by Dr. H. Zwaardemaker, is a scientific article of much interest, and seems to open the way to a more succinct and simpler explication of the difficult and delicate problems which this sense proposes to investigators.—Professor Kalff concludes his article begun in April on ‘Vondel’s Life,’ an extremely interesting paper, as Vondel shared fully in the rich and varied life of his time, religious, political and scientific, always keeping a high ideal before him.—‘Adventures of a Dutch ship on the return voyage from the East in 1665,’ gives a vivid picture of sea-life of old days and of encounters with English ships of war.—‘The Origin of the name of the Island Celebes,’ is a curious account of how a name arose from a concatenation of errors unequalled in the history of geography.—Dr. van Bemmelen contributes ‘A Visit to the Natural History Museum, London.’ Comparing the arrangements there with those in similar museums in Holland, he remarks that anyone wishing to see a different state of matters and things as they should be ought to visit the London Museum.—A. L. W. Seyffardt reviews at

great length (June, July,) the views of De Roo van Alderwerldt on the actual war strength of Holland, and how to make the best of it. Though that great authority is now somewhat antiquated there is still much to be learned from him, especially in regard to the training of militia and on the subject of compulsory service.—Van Deventer (June, July,) gives an exhaustive study of Balzac and his works.—Mr. W. H. de Beaufort continues his 'Thirty Years of our History, 1863-1893,' a valuable but not very interesting chronicle of party strifes and the effects on Holland of more widely-felt events of that period.—'Ape or Man,' is a discussion of Dubois' find in Java of the bones of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, supposed to be the missing link. This is extremely doubtful seeing that bones of so many other animals were found in the same spot, but it is possible the skeleton in question may be correctly arranged and may even be that of a progenitor of man, but it settles nothing.—An obituary article by Professor van Hamel is devoted to Allard Pierson, the well known theologian and a frequent contributor to the *Gids*, who died in May of this year. He was specially devoted to the subject of ethics and in the end gave up the orthodox theology for a sort of agnosticism, but he preserved still as his ideal the love of all that is noble and pure and believed in love as the solution of all ethical problems.—'The Father,' by George Sylvius, is a story of Scotch West Highland life, only entertaining as a Dutch view of what is possible in Scotland.—'Clericalism in the Italian State,' by C. E. de Vries Robbé, who writes from Rome, is a brightly written paper in which the growing influence of clericalism in school and social life, and generally everywhere in Italy, is noted, and the causes of the successes of the clerical party are pointed out.

DENMARK.

YEAR-BOOK FOR NORTHERN ARCHÆOLOGY AND HISTORY (Vol. X., Part 4, 1895). A valuable contribution to the study of the oldest Scandinavian poetry is made by Dr. Finnur Jónsson in an article on 'The Oldest Skalds and their Poems.' This is an answer to Prof. Bugge's recent attempt to discredit the antiquity of the poems ascribed to Bragi and Thiódólf, the date commonly assigned to these being too early to suit his theories on Scandinavian mythology. It is a case of 'so much the worse for the theories,' Dr. Finnur evidently thinks. He brings out in the clearest fashion the striking want of actual proof in Prof. Bugge's arguments, which is, to a great extent, disguised by the professor's eloquence and wealth of illustration. By a

searching analysis of the poems themselves he shows that whether historically, philologically, or metrically, there is nothing whatever in them to cast any doubt on the traditional accounts of their authors and dates. Bugge and Zimmer, from different points, have tried to establish an early literary connection between the Celts of Ireland and the Scandinavian peoples; Dr. Finnur is convinced that so far as there is foreign matter in Old Norse literature it has come from the south rather than from the west. Bugge's theories have been taken so seriously by many scholars that this criticism of them is of the greatest value for students of northern literature.—Chr. Blinkenberg contributes a notice of an Etruscan bronze vase with a wheeled stand, found in a mound near Skallerup in the south of Sjælland: it had been used as a funeral urn. The whole find belongs to the early bronze period, c. 800 B.C. The vase is the first of the kind found in Denmark, though two others have been got in South Sweden and North Germany. In the south of Europe specimens are not uncommon, and they probably reached the north in the way of trade, even at that early day.—(Vol. XI., Part 1.) The same writer gives an account of Pre-Mycenean antiquities, illustrated by the specimens in the possession of the National Museum at Copenhagen. He enters at some length into the general bearings of the question, and dissents in various points from the views of other archaeologists as to the age and significance of the finds. The most interesting section is perhaps that which deals with toilet articles, and the practices of tattooing and shaving. He is not inclined to accept the theory that the finds belong to a Carian population, and points out that it rests on a very slender foundation. A topographical list of the finds shows their distribution throughout the Greek islands.—Prof. Petersen details the results of excavations begun on the site of Vitskøl church in Jutland. This was founded as a Cistercian erection in 1158 by Valdemar I., in gratitude for his escape from, and victory over, his enemies. It was once famous as 'the finest church in the North;' now it is covered with earth and vegetation. From the excavations it may be inferred that its reputation was due to its brick-work and the width of its nave and transepts, but the building is of much later date than the twelfth century.

GREECE.

ATHENA (Vol. VIII, pt. 2, 1896).—G. N. Hatzidaki deals with a variety of subjects in his 'Koskylmatia,' the formation of Greek proper names, the Athenian pronunciation of ypsilon, modern verbs in-*ōno*, hybrid words, two Cretan inscriptions,

and his paper on the Macedonians in the previous number.—The fourth part of his paper on 'The Language Question' is occupied with a translation of the section on 'Common Dialect' in Hermann Paul's 'General Principles of Linguistic.'—M. I. Pantazês, 'The Spuriousness of Plato's Laws'—J. N. Hatzidaki on 'Divergent Integrals.'

SWITZERLAND.

THEOLOGISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT AUS DER SCHWEIZ (First quarterly part, 1896).—Pfarrer Nabholz discusses the means of promoting the Church's welfare, especially in Zürich associations.—'Johann Peter Romang as a Religious Philosopher,' by Professor Bloesch of Bern.—'The Influence of Syrian Literature on the West,' by V. Ryssell, gives a short but very full account of the advance made in our knowledge of Syrian writings. The latter part of the paper deals with the Seven Sleepers, the Finding of the Cross, and the Sylvester Legend, which, according to recent investigations, are Syrian in their origin. Examination of the various versions current in mediæval European literature proves that these Syrian versions must have been widely known. A curious piece of evidence occurs so far west as Ireland. In the Leabhar Breac's account of the finding of the cross, Satan, in anger at the discovery, is made to say, 'I will find a plan against you,' which is meaningless, but on turning to the Syrian text we find that what he really said was, 'I will raise up a king against you,' viz., Julian the Apostate, and the inference is that the Irish writer mistook 'malka' king, for 'melka' plan. He must have been acquainted with the original, as this error is found in no other extant version.

AMERICA.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (April, 1896).—The contents of this number are varied and attractive. The first place is given to an article by Mr. C. F. Adams on the Battle of Bunker Hill, who maintains that the battle was won by the Americans not in consequence of any great skill or capacity on the part of their leaders but in consequence of the superior capacity for blundering on the part of the British commanders.—In 'The Bohun Wills' Mr. M. M. Bigelow examines several of the wills of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford, for the purpose of ascertaining how people lived and fared in their day. The study may be commended for its minute details and for the vivid way in which it sets the life of periods dealt with before us.—Another extremely interesting paper, which bears the signature of Wilbur H. Siebert,

has for its title 'Light on the Underground Railroad.' It is accompanied by a map showing a multitude of roads by which the slaves fled and the houses in which they were sheltered.—Mr. Justin Winsor contributes 'Virginia and the Quebec Bill,' and Mr. W. P. Trent 'The Case of Josiah Philips.'—Mr. J. F. Rhodes writes on 'The First Six Weeks of McClellan's Peninsula Campaign,' treating the campaign as 'a chapter of blunders,' and as showing how 'decisive events fail of accomplishment for the lack of a great general.'—Mr. H. Morse Stephens contributes an article on 'Recent Memoirs of the French Directory.'—Hitherto unpublished documents are represented by 'A Memorial of Lord Burghley on Peace with Spain, 1588,' and a continuation of Richard Smith's 'Diary.'—Among the Books reviewed are Mr. Rashdall's *Universities of the Middle Ages*, Lord Aston's *Lecture on the Study of History*, and Grosvenor's *Constantinople*.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

History of Christian Doctrine. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D.,
LL.D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University (International Theological Library). Edinburgh,
T. & T. Clark. 1896.

In this closely printed volume Dr. Fisher has managed to give a very fair account of the history of Christian Theological opinions. The history of Christian dogmatics is, of course, treated, but the comparatively narrow limits of Christian dogma are overpassed, and the theological opinions of a great number of writers, more especially of recent times, are discussed. The work, though not without its merits, is not altogether such an one as might be desired, either as to arrangement or style. The style, while usually clear, is here and there a little tautological, and not always sufficiently explicit, as in the introductory chapter. In a work like this the free use of the paragraph with head lines in a type different from that of the text cannot be too strongly commended. Dr. Fisher divides his history into three parts, viz., Ancient Theology, Mediæval Theology, and Modern Theology, the first bringing the history down to A.D. 600; the second to the time of Luther; and the third ending with the Agnosticism of Mr. Huxley. These, so far as they go, are good; but the subject is susceptible of sub-divisions. Dr. Fisher attempts something of that kind by the arrangement of his chapters; but the contents of these are determined in a number of instances not so much by the development of any specific doctrine as by the history or locality of the writer or writers. What one desires to see in a work of this kind is a clear statement of the stages through which a doctrine or dogma has passed, and the attempts which have been made to modify or counteract its development during a definite period in its history. The later chapters in the volume assume the shape of sketches of recent religious opinion in different countries. Dr. Fisher's citations are numerous, as are also his references, but it is a question whether his volume would not have been more useful to the student if the exact words of the authors had been given, even at the expense of cutting down the text. Of course they may, for the most part, be found in German Handbooks and Histories of Dogmatics, but to those for whom this International Theological Library has been projected these are not always accessible. One misses the elaborate introduction which a German author would have written for such a volume, defining his subject, terms, sources, etc., etc. Dr. Fisher's introductory chapter, which runs to over twenty pages, and stands for it, seems to us less satisfactory than other parts of his volume. However, in dealing with the question: Is theology possible? he says some very useful and true things against the Agnostic position. On the other hand, he is not so successful in dealing with Clement's doctrine of the relation between faith and knowledge. It is doubtful, too, whether he has caught the meaning of the Apostle when he says: 'But faith, we are taught by the Apostle, merges at last, not in science, but in sight.' Science, we should say, is knowledge, and 'sight' can scarcely imply more. Nor does the sentence refute, as it is intended, Clement's position that knowledge is more than faith. The remark 'Faith "abides" until beyond the veil it is resolved into vision,' is scarcely a

sufficient exegesis of the words, 'Now abideth faith;' nor does it tell against Clement any more than Dr. Fisher's arguments tell against the position of St. Thomas Aquinas 'that as fast as science advances faith is displaced.' With a somewhat strange inconsistency Dr. Fisher says, 'Faith, to be sure, includes a perception of truth;' and, again, he defines faith as 'a practical experience.' There is a sense, of course, in which these statements are true, but in writings of this kind more precision is expected. When we come to the body of the work, and to the statement of the opinions he has to cite and discuss, Dr. Fisher, in the chapters we have taken to test his work, is always fair and impartial. When dealing with the opinions of St. Augustine, as for instance, as to faith, he is a little perplexed, as writing from his strictly orthodox Presbyterian point of view he might almost be expected to be. The chronology of the concluding chapters is somewhat mixed, and the presentation of opinions, as, for instance, those of F. D. Maurice, is somewhat sketchy. There is no attempt to show, or rather to sum up, the gains of theological thought during the long course of its history; nor is there to show the influence which science has had upon it, or the way in which its contents have been enriched by scientific discoveries. Assuming with Dr. Fisher that 'phenomena are revelations of reality,' and with Spencer that there is an 'Ultimate Reality which all things are continually making manifest,' a doctrine, we suspect, which Dr. Fisher does not deny, one would have thought that in a book on the History of Christian Doctrine, and abounding so much in *obiter dicta* as Dr. Fisher's does, a chapter on this subject would have found a place. Still, though scarcely reaching up to the high standard set by Dr. Driver's work for the series, Dr. Fisher's volume fills a place hitherto vacant in English theological literature, and will doubtless prove acceptable to that large class of readers for whom it has been specially prepared.

The Apostolic Gospel with a Critical Reconstruction of the Text.
By J. FULTON BLAIR, B.D. London: Smith, Elder & Co.
1896.

This volume divides itself into three parts, viz., an Introduction, a translation of what the author conceives to have been the text of the Apostolic Gospel, and lastly, an elaborate commentary, consisting for the most part of proofs and arguments in support of the reconstructed text. It will thus be seen that the volume is one of considerable importance, and that it is devoted to the solution of one of the most controverted theological problems of the day. Mr. Blair is not in entire agreement with the foremost critics in Germany. He is in agreement with Weiss and Wendt as to the existence of an Apostolic Gospel, but at variance with them as to its contents and the way in which it has been used in the compilation or construction of the first and third Gospels and as to its relations to the fourth Gospel, as also on other points. Like them he accepts the second Gospel as forming the framework of the first and third, and admits that if we had no more than the second and third Gospels any reconstruction of the text of the Apostolic source would be impossible, and the question he seeks to answer is, 'Can we with the help of the parallel incidents and logia in Matthew and in the fourth Gospel, or from a comparison of the data given in the whole of the Gospels, construct the text of the Apostolic source?' His argument is not without considerable ingenuity. First of all he calls in the aid of the scientific imagination and asks: If Luke had in his hands besides Mark's Gospel, a Gospel of high authority which he wished to combine with Mark's; if this Gospel consisted not merely of logia with a few selected events, but of all the facts which were known to

the writer from the beginning of the ministry to the Cross ; if these facts were narrated in their chronological order, and in many cases were parallel to Mark's facts ; and finally, if for reasons which are capable of definition, this Gospel had been largely superseded by Mark, which was richer in incidents but contained much less of the teaching, so that Mark had become the standard of history before the third Gospel was written, what would be the probable characteristics of the combination thus proposed and effected ? Mr. Blair's answer is—' It is quite conceivable, on the one hand, that the editor, with such documents before him, would supplement Mark's narratives *seriatim* by material derived from the other authority, and would gather into long discourses the teaching which permitted such treatment. Or, on the other hand, he might, while not altogether neglecting this method, insert in Mark's framework, at appropriate places, accumulations of loose material derived from the other source ; and in such a case the following phenomena might be confidently predicted. First, the incidents taken from Mark, and already recorded in the history, would not be repeated by the editor, although contained in the other source, if such incidents were recognised as identical. Secondly, a few incidents in their different versions would not be recognised as clearly identical, and therefore duplication would arise. Thirdly, Mark being accepted and followed as the standard, the original arrangement of the other source would be entirely upset by combination ; the bones would be removed from the body, and thus a new editorial arrangement, especially of the teaching, would be permitted, and indeed would be inevitable.' Assuming the existence of the 'Apostolic Source' all this is of course quite conceivable. It is quite as conceivable also that an editor may have adopted another course. So too is it that the editors of the first and third Gospels may have used what were practically independent sources in order to fill out the framework supplied by the second Gospel. At the same time it cannot be denied that on the assumption of the existence of the Apostolic source, what Mr. Blair here says furnishes what may at least be called a working hypothesis, and is borne out by the contents and differences of the Gospels Matthew and Luke. For, as he points out, the characteristics of the combination, in the case of the first Gospel, agree precisely with the first of the imagined alternatives, while the method adopted in the third Gospel, on the other hand, is in agreement with the second, even to the extent of exhibiting the phenomena which might be expected in the case supposed. This fact, which has hitherto been overlooked by critics, is of supreme importance for Mr. Blair's theory. Accordingly in the passages occurring in the third Gospel and not occurring in the second, and in those occurring in the first Gospel and not in the second and third he finds traces of the Apostolic source ; but not all the Gospels contain. 'We possess additional data,' he says, 'which enable us to advance to much larger results.' Some of these additional data are in the passages where the first and third evangelists differ both from St. Mark and from each other ; others are supplied by textual evidence and a comparison of Luke's digressions with Mark, a process which brings to light the fact that Luke's omissions are much more numerous than they are usually supposed to be. So far Mr. Blair has dealt with the evangelical narrative from the Sermon on the Mount to the discourse on the Coming of the Kingdom, and he now proceeds to argue backwards and forwards, maintaining that the narrative preceding the Sermon on the Mount presupposes an earlier history, and that the discourse on the Coming of the Kingdom in like manner presupposes a subsequent history bringing the narrative down to the Passion. He is prepared to go further and to maintain that the critic who proceeds to the work of reconstruction and is

faithful to the data observed cannot stop short until 'he stands beside the empty tomb with a clear conception of the ministry, a new comprehension of the teaching, and a firm appreciation of that great personality which has gained the homage of men.' Want of space prevents us from dwelling upon any of the many points which Mr. Blair's argument raises, as well as from entering more minutely into it. What we have said, however, is sufficient to show the line of argument he follows, and to exhibit his theory. The further and larger question which his hypothesis raises Mr. Blair does not argue. As might be expected he is prepared to join issue with those who uphold the generally received opinion as to the origin of the synoptic Gospels, and the relation in which their sources stand to each other, and to the fourth Gospel. 'He does not believe,' he says, 'that the two sources are really independent. On the contrary, he is prepared to prove—by arguing, of course, from probabilities—that the second Gospel is not a recollection of the preaching of St. Peter. He believes that the Apostolic source, which existed at first as an oral tradition, was committed to writing, at different places by different men, to meet the requirements of the Christian society, and that Mark is a combination of the versions. He is also prepared to prove that the fourth Gospel is a primitive commentary, or in other words an elaborated version of the Apostolic source, with the incidents adapted to the evangelist's purpose, and the logia partly reproduced and partly displaced by reflections which the original suggested. He does not accept the common assumption that the synoptic problem is altogether distinct from the Johannine. He maintains that the two coalesce, and that in solving the one the critic will solve also the other. He believes, in short, that the four Gospels are simultaneous equations, that the unknown quantity is the Apostolic source, and that the value of x can be discovered.' This belief has certainly the merit of simplicity. It has that also of reasonableness. Whether it can be vindicated is a question on which we cannot enter. We can only commend Mr. Blair's scholarly volume to the careful attention of students, and leave them to form their own opinion as to the theory it so ably maintains.

A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek after the Westcott and Hort Text. By the Rev. ARTHUR WRIGHT, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

This scholarly piece of work on the part of one of the members of the new School of Cambridge theologians will attract attention both on account of its comparative novelty, and because of the skill and thoroughness with which it has been done. It is an attempt to analysis the Gospels, and to exhibit their primitive sources. Mr. Wright has brought much painstaking labour to his task, and whether his results be wholly accepted or not, what he has done will considerably facilitate the work of the student in arriving at something like definite conceptions as to the sources whence the Gospels were derived, and the way in which they have been brought into their present shape. The truth of the oral hypothesis is assumed, and in a carefully written preface Mr. Wright exhibits the principles by which he has been governed in the construction of his synopsis. Accepting the theory, the truth of which is now generally but not everywhere admitted, that there were at least two main sources from which the materials for the synoptic Gospels were obtained, and that these sources correspond to what Papias calls 'St. Peter's Memoirs of Our Lord,' and the 'Logia,' or 'Utterances of St. Matthew,' and that the former consisted chiefly of narrative, and the latter of discourses or isolated apophthegms, Mr. Wright inclines to the

opinion of those who hold that on the whole the second Gospel corresponds to St. Peter's Memoirs, and that the author of the said Gospel was unacquainted with the *Logia*. That this and not the *Logia* is the oldest source is shown, he argues, by its wide diffusion, its contents, and its frequent mixture with the other sources. Hence in his first Division he places the Gospel of St. Mark, and side by side with it the identical or equivalent passages from SS. Matthew and Luke, together with the parallels from St. John and other sacred writers. In his second Division he places thirty-six discourses from St. Matthew's Gospel with the identical or equivalent passages from St. Luke, and parallels from St. Mark and other sacred writers. The third Division contains nineteen discourses, parables, and stories from St. Luke, chiefly in the central third, ix. 51—xviii. 14, five of which find parallels in the first and second Gospels, two in the first only, and one in the fourth. In the fourth Division, we have no fewer than a hundred and thirty-four fragments, some of which are common to SS. Matthew and Luke, others of which are peculiar to the first Gospel, and others to the third; but none of which are to be found in the second Gospel. The fifth Division contains a group of sixteen historical narratives peculiar to St. Luke. In the sixth Division we have a number of Editorial notes contributed by the writers themselves, and not by their authorities. The analysis is made still more exhaustive by the use in many places of brackets and different kinds of type. To appraise a work of this kind, or to enter into anything like an examination of it in the space here assigned to us, is of course impossible. We must content ourselves with but one or two remarks. That an oral Gospel or Gospels preceded the written Gospels must be assumed. But whether there were originally but two written Gospels from which the present Synoptic Gospels were derived is an open question. If Mr. Wright's Analysis be correct, there were more; at any rate the solution of the problem is made much more difficult. By Mr. Wright the *Logia* is reduced to a minimum. It is quite possible that many of the fragments included in his fourth Division are derived from this source. Any how, it will be exceedingly difficult to prove that they were not. That no principle of selection was adopted by the authors of the primitive written sources, and that any one who undertook to write a life of Christ would endeavour to put into it all that he knew, or all that was accepted in the Church to which he belonged, or all that he could collect from trustworthy witnesses, are positions which seem to us to be too confidently assumed. It is reasonable to suppose that a modern author would do something of this sort, but whether the authors of the primitive Gospels or of the Synoptics did this is another and different question. Altogether, while we cannot but admire the skill and scholarship, and patient industry which Mr. Wright has brought to bear upon the problem he has sought to solve, it seems to us that its final solution is not yet in sight. Perhaps it never will be so long as our knowledge of the written sources remains what it is. All the same, such work as Mr. Wright has here done can not fail to incite to a more detailed study of the evangelical narratives, and to prove of great assistance to the student.

The Bible for Home Reading. Edited with Comments and Reflections for the use of Jewish Parents and Children by C. G. MONTEFIORE. First Part. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

This volume of Bible readings, the first of two, has been compiled, as the title-page bears, for the use of Jewish parents and children. The period covered by the readings is from Abraham to the second visit of

Nehemiah to Jerusalem. The first eleven chapters of the book of Genesis are represented by a series of extracts given at the end of the volume, in which are the stories of Creation, Paradise, etc. The chapters from which these extracts are taken, are, in the opinion of the author, 'too full of grave moral and religious difficulties to form a suitable beginning.' The text used in the extracts is virtually that of the Authorised Version, though here and there Mr. Montefiore has adopted readings which seem to him to be better. Besides selecting the passages and editing them, Mr. Montefiore has contributed to each of them an introduction with comments, sometimes explanatory, sometimes historical, and sometimes of a homiletic nature, which are all remarkable for the frankness and freeness of their criticism, as well as for the spirit of devout appreciation of the Scriptures by which they are pervaded. More remarkable than the notes, however, is the general introduction to the volume. Here Mr. Montefiore treats of the origin and character of the Bible, and touches upon many points of the greatest interest. His critical standpoint is that almost of the most advanced school of Biblical criticism; but though one may not be always able to agree with him in his critical opinions, when he comes to speak of the moral teaching of the Old Testament one's sympathies go entirely with him. He emphasises the fact that it exhibits different stages of morality among men; but his main point is its intrinsic value and wherein this value consists. 'The Bible,' he says, 'tells us about God and Goodness; this is what gives it its unity. This is what gives it its unique value. No other book has told men so well and so truly of goodness and God as the Bible. All that it says about God, and all that it says about goodness, is not indeed of equal value, of equal truth; there are degrees of excellence and of worth. But, taken as a whole, no book has spoken and still speaks of God and goodness as this book, the Bible. And this is what has made the Bible precious and beloved through so many ages, and to so many different peoples. For God and goodness never grow old. Men and women always want to know about them, and in this respect one age is the same as another.' In this passage we have the key to most of his comments, and an indication of the spirit in which the volume has been compiled. Mr. Montefiore's aim is edification, and his volume may be read with profit by the old as well as the young, whether Jews or Christians. A second volume is promised to complete the work.

Documents Illustrative of English Church History. Compiled from Original Sources by HENRY GEE, B.D., F.S.A., and WILLIAM JOHN HARDY, F.S.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

This volume will serve a very useful purpose, and help to lighten the labours of the student of English Church History. All the documents illustrative of English Church History it does not contain, nor does it profess to contain them; but in its pages will be found many of the more important, and especially those to which reference is most frequently made. Sixteenth and seventeenth century documents are fairly well represented, but for a number, as for instance some of those belonging to the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., the student will require to consult other collections, such as the volume prepared for the Clarendon Press by Professor Prothero. The selection from pre-Norman documents is admittedly meagre. Originally it was not intended that the collection should contain any, but, acting on the suggestion of Dr. Bright, twelve of the more important, beginning with the British signatories at the Council of Arles, 314, and end-

ing with selections from the Constitutions of Odd, 943, are given. Still, taken as a whole, and remembering the limitations of space with which the Editors have had to contend, the selection has been made with tact, and is thoroughly representative. The Editors' notes are always to the point. If any fault can be found with them it is that they are too brief. The Latin and Norman-French documents have been translated, and the spelling of the rest, the latest of which is dated 1700, has been modernised. The Editors, in short, have done their work so well as to encourage the hope that a new edition will be called for, and that they will then avail themselves of the opportunity of making their collection more complete by including the more important of those they have been obliged to omit, making use if necessary, as in all probability it will be, of an additional volume.

The Union of England and Scotland: A Study of International History. By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1896.

An impartial narrative of the events which led up to the union between England and Scotland, of the various stages through which the negotiations passed, and of the terms on which the union was finally agreed to, has for some time been wanting. Recent publications of official and hitherto inaccessible documents have made the task comparatively easy, and it is perhaps fortunate that at a time when the subject has been pushed forward into public controversy that it has been taken in hand by one who has proved himself so competent to deal with it as Dr. Mackinnon. At any rate he has not only made himself thoroughly conversant with all the published sources of information connected with his subject; here and there his pages bear evidence of independent research and of the use of papers and documents which have not seen the light in print. And what is of more importance he has threaded his way with a firm hand through the tangled web of negotiations he has had to contend with, and written his narrative in a spirit of judicial impartiality which is to say the least commendable. At the time both public and private feeling ran high. Each party was jealous of the other, many were opposed to the union, obstacles were thrown in the way of the negotiations, and many things were done to provoke ill-feeling, but all through Dr. Mackinnon is eminently fair and never allows himself to be led astray by the storm of feeling in which he has to work. Over the earliest attempts at union between the two countries he passes lightly, pointing out that they were of two kinds, attempts by force and attempts through marriage. Henry VIII.'s scheme of a matrimonial and political alliance, which he had arranged with Arran, was wrecked, he shows, by the opposition of Cardinal Beaton and his conservative following. The scheme devised by Somerset after the battle of Pinkie, he speaks of as 'his memorable offer of a liberal treaty of union.' Scotland, however, he adds, was not prepared for amalgamation of interests and policy, but preferred the old French alliance, a preference which in the end may be said to have hastened on the union which subsequently took place. Among attempts at union of a forceful kind those of James VI. and Cromwell are rightly placed. Cromwell's scheme simply meant the complete absorption of Scotland by England and the suppression of every national institution. The only generous thing about it was the offer of free trade; but this, on the other hand, while, as Dr. Mackinnon observes, it 'served to open the eyes of the Scots to the material advantages connected with a closer union with a more powerful and wealthy neighbour,' awakened the spirit of opposition to the union in England,

and at the same time contributed to increase the dissatisfaction already felt there against his arbitrary rule. In dealing with the events which led up to the treaty of union Dr. Mackinnon dwells at considerable length on Paterson and the Darien Scheme, and the influence which the failure of that ill-fated scheme had in embittering the two nations against each other. Simon Fraser and his intrigues also come in for a large share of attention. The chapter devoted to him is probably the most interesting piece of reading in the volume. Those which deal with the negotiations between the Commissioners are of course of more importance, but they are unintelligible without it. Fletcher and the Patriotic party are spoken of with approval, and Dr. Mackinnon has done wisely to quote liberally from Saltoun's speeches and essays. The state of feeling in Scotland immediately after the inauguration of the union is dwelt on at length, and attention is called to the fact, which has hitherto been seldom noticed, that all through the long war of the Spanish Succession the affairs of Scotland formed an important factor in the calculations of French statesmen. That the state of public feeling in Scotland had much to do with the continuance of that great struggle seems to be certain. 'The hope of dealing a blow at the power of the allies by means of a rebellion in Scotland was,' as Dr. Mackinnon says, 'never absent from the mind of Louis and his ministers.' In his concluding chapters Dr. Mackinnon speaks of the attitude of Parliament towards Scotland after the union, of the unconstitutional character of the legislation of the period, and of the risings in 1715 and 1745, and of the industrial and social progress of the country during the eighteenth century. Dr. Mackinnon is not of opinion that the union has been an unalloyed blessing. There have been and still are he thinks serious drawbacks to it, to some of which he refers in his concluding chapter, a chapter, however, which is more political than historical.

The History of Civilisation in Scotland. By JOHN MACKINTOSH, LL.D. New edition. Vol. IV. Paisley and London, Alex. Gardner. 1896.

With this volume Dr. Mackintosh finishes the new and revised edition of his principal work. As we have before remarked, when noticing the earlier volumes, this edition is in every way a great improvement on the first. The emendations are such as almost to make it a new work. The present volume opens with an account of the state of philosophy in Scotland at the end of the last century, and continues it down to the death of the late Professor Croome Robertson. The five chapters which follow are devoted to the history of literature in Scotland from Allan Ramsay down almost to the present day. These are followed by chapters on the history of science, medicine, and education. Then we have chapters on agriculture, manufactures, shipbuilding, as well as on architecture, music, and painting, and, lastly, a couple of chapters dealing with the social, political, and religious movements from the year 1832 almost to the present. It is hardly necessary to say that, like the previous volumes of this work, the one now before us is a mine of information on a great variety of topics, and traces the development of the civilisation of the country with a sure hand during the period with which it deals. An elaborate index to the four volumes fittingly concludes the work.

A History of Fife and Kinross. By A. J. G. MACKAY, Sheriff of these Counties (The County Histories of Scotland). Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1896.

The learned Sheriff of Fife and Kinross has made no attempt, as he tells us, to write an exhaustive and complete history of these counties; his endeavour has been 'to catch the spirit rather than to follow the letter of the history.' His work, therefore, is cast on lines quite different from those on which Mr. A. H. Millar wrote the two volumes of his *History of Fife* which was noticed in these pages some time ago. But though not exactly a history in the usual meaning of that term, Mr. Mackay's volume contains a delightful account of the most important matters connected with what was formerly known, and indeed is still known, as the kingdom of Fife. In the preparation of it he has made large use of the 'Sketch' of the history of the two counties which he published in 1890. The present volume may be said in fact to be a second and enlarged edition of the 'Sketch.' No one, however, will be disposed to quarrel with it on that score. The additions are all in the right direction and enhance the interest and value of the work. As a popular history of a county it is probably without a rival and is a model which may be followed in the rest of the series with advantage. That it contains everything one would like a history of Fife to contain cannot of course be said, but it contains sufficient to furnish a clear idea of the course which history has run in the ancient kingdom and of the relation in which it stood to the general history of the country. One omission we notice. There is no reference to the Session of Parliament held at St. Andrews, November 20th, 1645, an incident sufficiently important and singular, we should say, to be recorded in any history of Fife. Two excellent maps are given—one is a *facsimile* of Blaeu's two quaint maps on the county, and the other is a reproduction of the Ordnance Survey Map. It was a mistake, however, to print the first of these on brittle paper. Both of them would have been better on cloth and in a pocket. A very commendable feature of the work is the long list of books and publications on the county. The volume presents a handsome appearance and altogether promises exceedingly well for the series which it inaugurates.

The Life and Works of Robert Burns. Edited by ROBERT CHAMBERS, revised by WILLIAM WALLACE. 4 vols. Edinburgh and London: W. & R. Chambers. 1896.

Various attempts have been made to commemorate the centenary of the death of Robert Burns by publishing special editions of his works and biographical sketches of the poet. Editors and biographers, with diverse degrees of fitness for the task, have arisen in unsuspected quarters; and 1896 is likely to be memorable in the publishing trade for the variety of editions of Burns that have been issued or are in progress of preparation. One might have thought that a poet who had been biographised voluminously for ninety-six years would long ere this have been exhausted as a subject; but every year has been adding fresh material to Burnsiana, until the topic has assumed gigantic dimensions. The very embarrassment of the riches at his command might terrify the conscientious biographer from the task of writing a new life of Burns, or giving a complete edition of his poems. For Burns shares with Shakespeare and Mary, Queen of Scots, the doubtful honour of having been a favourite subject of debate amongst literary critics. Amongst the heterogeneous volumes written about Burns only two works stand out with prominence,—those, namely, which owe their origin to Dr. Currie and to Robert Chambers. Dr. Currie, who was a native of Dumfriesshire, had encountered the poet accidentally during the clouded years of his later life, and had become deeply interested by his personality. After the poet's death, Dr. Currie, with com-

mendable devotion, strove to excite compassion for the bereaved widow and children of Burns amongst the literary circles of Liverpool, and at length he undertook to edit an edition of the poems, with a biographical introduction, to provide a fund for the hapless family of the poet. Though one of the most benevolent of men, Dr. Currie was not a model biographer, and he allowed discreditable stories to appear in this sketch, possibly with the notion that these would increase commiseration for Mrs. Burns and her children. He was a fluent writer, and his graceful periods were so easily copied that for many years his biography was prefixed to numerous editions, without alteration or question. Attempts were at length made by J. Gibson Lockhart and Allan Cunningham to give true versions of the life of Burns; but these were only partially successful. It was not until Robert Chambers took up the subject, and devoted himself to collecting materials for his notable edition of Burns that a reasonable effort was made to give an accurate account of the poet's life, and a critical edition of his works from which spurious pieces were excluded. Chambers was a book-worm with a wide knowledge of literature, a sleuth-hound in tracking items of evidence, and an intelligent and impartial antiquary, and was thus admirably fitted to carry the task he had undertaken to a successful issue. There have been countless biographies since his edition was published in 1851; but those which did not imitate Chambers, or crib from his pages, have been deservedly forgotten. During his investigations Dr. Chambers unearthed much material which, for various reasons, could not be published at the time when his edition was issued. It is likely that he contemplated a second edition; at all events he was too acute an antiquary to destroy the evidence he had collected at vast personal trouble and expense. Other projects occupied the later years of his life, and his second edition did not appear. It was a happy thought which led the members of the publishing firm which he had founded to bring out, in this present memorable year, an edition which should not only include what had formerly been excluded, but also contain the results of inquiries made by other investigators since Chambers's time. And it was also a fortunate circumstance that the firm was able to secure so competent an editor as William Wallace to carry out this new edition. Since 1851 a new literature of Burns, of the most scrappy and incoherent character, has accumulated; and the new editor who seeks to be abreast of the times must be able to select from this miscellaneous heap, whatsoever is of good report. Judging from the two volumes which have already been issued, Mr. Wallace has succeeded in his onerous task beyond expectation. Recent discoveries have made it necessary for him to re-write great portions of the original work, and though he has carefully followed the lines laid down by Dr. Chambers, Mr. Wallace has practically produced a new edition of the life and works of Burns which will certainly hold its own against all rivals for many a day to come. In bringing out a new edition of such a work the editor may either give fresh matter in footnotes (always a disturbing method for the reader), or he may incorporate additional material with the text, thus making the book continuous. The latter course has been wisely adopted by Mr. Wallace, though the result is that only those acquainted familiarly with the original will be able duly to appreciate the labour of the new editor. By doing so, however, Mr. Wallace has thoroughly effaced himself, his aim being apparently to produce a satisfactory edition, whether he receives full credit for his own work or not. Possibly there are few editors who would be willing in these days to pass a 'self-denying ordinance' of this kind, and still fewer who would carry it out so thoroughly as Mr. Wallace has done. For his additions are not only numerous but also important. For instance, he prints the whole

of the famous autobiographical letter written by Burns to Dr. Moore, which has formed the well-spring from which all biographers have drawn their accounts of the poet's early career. Again, Mr. Wallace has examined the various contradictory versions of Burns's genealogy which are afloat, with much discrimination, and has drawn up from this puzzling maze what seems to be a credible account of the Burnes family. Another point on which Mr. Wallace has thrown much light is that of the theological attitude of Burns. It is too readily assumed that Burns was either an active scoffer at religion or an indifferent Gallio who 'cared for none of these things.' When Dr. Chambers wrote it would not have been prudent for him to have cast himself wilfully into a theological controversy, and he left the question of Burns's religious convictions rather indefinitely explained. Professor Wilson (Christopher North), when preparing the letter-press for *The Land of Burns*, was greatly exercised on this point, and wrote a letter to Mr. Aird asking if it would be possible to discover whether Burns regularly had family worship in his house; but Aird could not find the desired information. However, Wilson was decidedly inclined to the notion that Burns was a religious man, despite his severe satires on some of the ministers of his time. Mr. Wallace very lucidly explains Burns's attitude to the formalism of his time, and points out that while he resented dogmatism, Burns was thoroughly imbued with a belief in an all-pervading Creator to whom every creature owed the deepest devotion and reverence. He was not a sceptic as Voltaire was sceptical; his quarrel was rather with humanly-devised creeds than with religion. Much foolish nonsense has lately been ventilated regarding Highland Mary, and she has been traduced by recent writers as the equal of some of the frailer women with whom Burns's name was associated. Into this matter Mr. Wallace has made elaborate and intelligent research, and has succeeded in triumphantly vindicating Mary Campbell from the slanders of ill-advised traducers. The peculiar episode of Burns's dispute with the Armour family is placed in a clearer light than ever it has been by Mr. Wallace's lucid recital of the circumstances connected with the quarrel. While he does not excuse Burns for contemplating the desertion of Jean Armour, he shows that the attitude taken up by Jean's father was calculated to irritate a sensitive nature like that of the poet's, and to drive him to extremities which he would afterwards bitterly regret. Mr. Wallace has also brought out new matter regarding Burns's relations with Elizabeth Paton, and the evidence tends to obviate the charge of heartlessness sometimes brought against Burns with reference to this incident. The second volume carries on the story of Burns's life from November, 1786, till December, 1788, and deals with the first visit to Edinburgh, the tour through the Highlands, the Clarinda episode, and the marriage of Burns and Jean Armour. This was the most stirring period of the poet's life, and the relation of the varied incidents demands care on the part of the narrator and accurate knowledge of the characters introduced and their relations to each other. On comparing this volume with the corresponding volume of the first edition it will be seen that Mr. Wallace has almost entirely re-written the text, so numerous are his additions. He has printed the whole of the correspondence of Clarinda and Sylvander, thus making it easy to follow the development of this romantic episode. When dealing with the brilliant period of Burns's visit to Edinburgh and the production of the first Edinburgh edition of the poems, Mr. Wallace vindicates the poet from the charge of having been spoiled by his literary success. He shows that amid all the temptations to overestimate the patronage accorded to him, Burns kept a cool head, and valued the applause bestowed at its true worth. The later passages in the poet's life will occupy the third

volume, and Mr. Wallace purposes giving an estimate of the poet's work in the concluding volume. The illustrations to this edition are worthy of high praise.

Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. By his son, ARTHUR FENTON HORT. 2 vols. London and New York, Macmillan & Co. 1896.

As the author of this memoir remarks, the subject of it was little known outside the world of scholars. In that world, however, he was both well and widely known and highly appreciated. Outside of it his influence is likely to be much greater than his fame, though that also, we should say, is destined to grow. The New Testament is not likely to lose its hold upon men, and wherever it is read as a subject of serious study few men will be regarded with greater respect than that remarkable triumvirate of whom the present Bishop of Durham is the only survivor. Each, in his own way, has done much for its elucidation, and Dr. Hort not less than the others in theirs. A scholar's life is, as a rule, barren of incident, and Dr. Hort's was no exception. He was born in Dublin, April 23, 1828, and though of English extraction, could count among his ancestors an Irish Archbishop, who married into the Butler family, and an Irish baronet. The third son of the baronet was the father of F. J. A. Hort. On his mother's side Hort could claim to be descended from the celebrated Dean Colet. His father settled at Cheltenham when he was nine years old. He was at Rugby under Arnold, and subsequently under Tait, where he was distinguished for his scholarship rather than for athletics. From Rugby he went to Cambridge in 1846, and entered at Trinity, his father's College. Here he became a member of the mysterious company of the 'Apostles,' graduated, obtained the Hulsean Prize in 1850 for an essay on 'The Beneficial Influence of the Christian Clergy on European Progress in the first Ten Centuries,' and was one of the founders of the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*. In 1854 he was ordained by Dr. Wilberforce, then Bishop of Oxford. Two years after he married, and was appointed the same year, and shortly before his marriage, to the College living of St. Ippolytum-Great Wymondley, near Hitchin. Here he remained till 1872, when he returned to Cambridge as Theological Lecturer at Emmanuel's, having been defeated four years before in his candidature for the Knightsbridge Professorship of Moral Philosophy by F. D. Maurice. Six years later he was appointed Hulsean Professor of Divinity, and in October, 1887, was unanimously elected to the Lady Margaret Readership in Divinity, which had become vacant through the death of Dr. Swainson, the Master of Christ's College. This was his last piece of preferment. He died November 30, 1892. A man of more ambition with Dr. Hort's abilities might have attained to a yet more distinguished position; but of ambition he had little. His interests were numerous and his activities many-sided, but he always preferred to remain in the back-ground. His great work, the preparation of the Greek Text of the New Testament in collaboration with Dr. Westcott, which for thirty years was always before his mind, originated in a suggestion made in 1854 by the late Mr. Daniel Macmillan that he should take a part in a New Testament scheme which was then afoot. According to this 'Hort,' we are told, 'was to edit the text in conjunction with Mr. Westcott; the latter was to be responsible for a commentary, and Lightfoot was to contribute a New Testament Grammar and Lexicon.' Subsequently the idea was modified. The preparation of the Text was to go on as before arranged; Lightfoot was to write the Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, and Westcott that on the writings of

St John, while Hort was to undertake that on the Synoptic Gospels and Catholic Epistles. But for these and many other literary projects which were before Hort's mind, as well as for the reasons why so many of them fell through, we must refer the reader to the letters contained in the two volumes before us. These are wonderfully varied in their contents, and, unless we are mistaken, will pleasantly surprise those who have known Dr. Hort only through his published writings, or were not his intimate friends. Here he throws aside the hesitancy and caution which always served to hedge him in, and unbosoms his mind with a freedom quite unexpected. Mr. Arthur Fenton Hort has done his work well, and has succeeded in producing what, to say the least, is one of the most charming biographies we have met with for some time.

Memoir of John Nichol, Professor of English Literature in the University of Glasgow. By PROFESSOR KNIGHT, St. Andrews. Glasgow, James MacLehose & Sons. 1896.

The father of the late Professor of English Literature in the University of Glasgow was himself a Professor in the University of Glasgow, where he filled the chair of Astronomy with great acceptance, and was the friend and correspondent of such men as the two Mills, Herschel and Airy, Longfellow, Wordsworth, and De Quincey. No memoir of him has ever been written, much, apparently, to the regret of Professor Knight, whose first intention was to write a biography of the father as well as of the son, but who, in deference to the advice of the family, 'that it would be inexpedient to combine a sketch of both men in a volume especially devoted to the son,' has, fortunately or unfortunately, given up his original plan, and, with the exception of a couple of pages in which a brief sketch is given of the Professor of Astronomy, confined his labours to the life of the Professor of English Literature. The result is a volume of moderate size which, thanks to the publisher, is admirably printed and light in the hand. It divides itself into two parts, unequal alike in their length and quality. The first is from the pen of the late Professor of English Literature himself; the second has been written and compiled by Professor Knight. Professor Nichol's part takes the shape of a series of autobiographical letters written to his wife shortly after their marriage, and bringing the story of his life down to the death of his mother in 1851, when he was about eighteen years of age, still resident at the Observatory in Glasgow, and a student at the University there. They were written in 1861, and though printed at the time, under the title *Leaves from My Life*, they were not written for publication. It is fortunate, however, that they have been preserved. They form by far the most attractive feature of the volume, and are remarkable for their simplicity and eloquence. The glamour of poetry is everywhere upon them, and here and there are passages of singular beauty. Here is one in which Mr. Nichol speaks of his father and mother, to the latter of whom he appears to have been devotedly attached. 'More wise than clever,' he says, 'she gave me more sage advice than I have ever seen in books, and all I have seen of life has only served to confirm its excellence. One of the best and greatest of those who have ever, in storm and sunshine, toiled through the earth, she ever seemed less than she was. My father spoke at times scornfully of the world; but in his happier days it "came out a perfect round," and hope made it seem rich in glorious promises. She saw it just as it was, rather a cloudy land; but her anchorage was firm beyond it. It seemed to me as if my father had power to see all the stars, but my mother alone could hear the music they made. Her speech was melodious, like silver, but her silence was like

gold, and when she spoke, her noble words were clenched with noble deeds. She said to me, "Be faithful," and lived like an emblem of faith; "Be loving," and her love was deep as the sea; "Be true," and she was true as the eternal stars.' Referring to her death he says, 'I have had many trials since but never one which made me desolate like that, when I moved about calm and cold and shed no tears.' Very little of Professor Nichol's correspondence has been preserved. This is to be regretted, and probably accounts, in a large measure, for the somewhat scrappy character of the rest of the volume, which may be said to consist of letters from Professor Nichol's friends, estimates of his character by pupils and others, and Professor Knight's notes and comments. Much the best and most important of the letters written to Nichol are those from the late Master of Balliol. Dr. Jowett seems to have understood Nichol's failings quite as well as his merits, and touches them with a kindly, sympathetic hand. His wide knowledge of men and affairs comes out in every letter, as well as his anxiety lest Nichol should give way to disappointment, or overtax his powers. Dr. Donald Macleod contributes some reminiscences of his classmate, which are as discriminating as they are generous. Professor Knight is not exactly an ideal biographer. Here, however, he seems to have worked under difficulties. His materials were scant, and now and again one has the feeling that he is in too great a hurry. One thing he seems to have to learn yet, notwithstanding his practice in biographical writing, and that is that what nine out of every ten readers of biography desire to see is not the opinions of the biographer but the deeds and words of the individual whose life he is narrating. It is to be regretted that more of Professor Nichol's unpublished verses have not been printed. The present volume contains several of great beauty. From a remark in the introduction it would appear that a chapter of the biography has been by some chance left out. Reference is made to Chapter XI., but no Chapter XI. can be found.

Henry Callaway, M.D., D.D. First Bishop of Kaffraria: His Life-History and Work. A Memoir by MARIAN S. BENHAM. Edited by the Rev. CANON BENHAM. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

Bishop Callaway has left behind him a very considerable name both on account of his devoted labours as a missionary in South Africa and because of the many and valuable contributions he made to the literature of anthropology. Miss Benham in the memoir which she has written of him dwells to some extent upon the scientific side of his labours, but makes no attempt to appreciate it. A more complete account of his studies in connection with the Zulus, their language, customs and folk-lore she has apparently left for other and probably more capable hands. To the religious side of his life she does ample justice. Her narrative is brief, but graphic. Few memoirs are so replete with interest, and whatever partiality the editor may have for the work, as having been written by his daughter, it is well deserved. The son of an exciseman, Bishop Callaway was born in January, 1817. He became a teacher, and coming under the influence of Mr. Dymond, in whose school he acted as an assistant at Heavitree, he was drawn towards the Society of Friends, a body which he afterwards joined, and in which for some time he acted as a minister. Abandoning teaching, he studied medicine, and began practice in London, but his health failing, and having joined the Church of England, to which his parents belonged, he, in 1853, offered his services as a missionary to Bishop

Colenso, who had just been appointed to the See of Natal. The letter in which he made the offer missed the Bishop, who had set out for Natal, but he was accepted by the Board of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, when it was arranged that he should be ordained at home and in the following summer accompany Bishop Colenso on his return to Natal. Accordingly, in the August of the following year, along with Mrs. Callaway, he left England, and landed at Durban on the 5th of December, when he at once began work. While the earlier pages of Miss Benham's narrative show the religious doubts and difficulties with which Dr. Callaway was troubled in his own mind, the remainder are a record of calm, earnest, and strenuous work. Though always delicate in health Dr. Callaway's capacity for work was extraordinary. Few men have been more devoted or unselfish. From the fierce controversy which broke out in the South African Church in consequence of the publications of his Bishop's criticisms on the Pentateuch, he endeavoured as far as possible, though holding views entirely at variance with those of Dr. Colenso, to keep himself aloof. What he desired was above all things peace, with freedom to carry on his work. But for the slight part he took in it, as also for the difficulties he had to contend with, and his remarkable success as a missionary, and for much else that is interesting we must refer the reader to Miss Benham's attractively written and instructive volume.

Richelieu. By RICHARD LODGE, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Glasgow. *Philip Augustus.* By WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B.D. ('Foreign Statesmen' Series). London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

The series to which these two volumes belong promises to be a very fitting sequel to the series whose publication is almost completed under the general title of 'Twelve English Statesmen.' The excellence of the monographs forming that series is generally admitted, and taking the two volumes before us as samples of those which are to follow them, there is every apparent probability that this new series will at least equal, if not excel, in interest its predecessor. The general editor is Mr. J. B. Bury, than whom no more scholarly and capable editor could have been found. With considerable propriety, the initial volume of the series is devoted to Richelieu, whose character has been so variously represented, but who is fairly entitled to be called 'the greatest political genius' France 'has ever produced.' In sketching his life and character, Mr. Lodge has necessarily to travel over a wide space. His private and domestic character he for the most part leaves aside, and is occupied with him chiefly as a politician, and as 'the chief founder, not only of France before the Revolution, but of much that is most characteristic of France at the present day.' The sketch is admirably done. There is not an uninteresting page in the volume. Both sides of Richelieu's character as a statesman are brought out. While laying stress on his industry, skill, sagacity, decision and breadth of view, Mr. Lodge does not seek to exonerate him from the charge of cruelty and vindictiveness. All the same, he is of opinion that he was neither capricious nor unjust, and that 'his methods, though often arbitrary and contrary to legal custom and tradition, were always fearless and above-board.' If Mr. Hutton's volume is scarcely so attractive as Mr. Lodge's, it is not by any means due to any defect in his treatment of his subject, but rather to the fact that Philip Augustus is less known than the brilliant minister of Louis, and lived at a more remote

period. In his time, however, he played a scarcely less conspicuous part. The conqueror of Bouvines and the successful opponent of Henry II. of England, he laid the foundations of the French Monarchy sure and strong, and restored it from the ruins into which it had fallen under the Capets. English history does not forget his intrigues against Richard I., as little does it forget John's subserviency, and the way in which he allowed Philip to strip him of his French possessions. The worst stain of Philip's character was his treatment of his wife Ingeborgis, whom he renounced on the very day of her coronation. The conflict which arose in consequence between him and Innocent III. is graphically described by Mr. Hutton, as well as the measures he took for the defence of the Church against the rapacity of the feudal lords. Altogether, he has produced a very readable volume, interesting in many ways, and bearing evident marks of careful study and preparation.

Studies in Judaism. By S. SCHECHTER, M.A. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1896.

Mr. Schechter, the accomplished Reader in Talmudic in the University of Cambridge, has here put together a number of essays on topics connected with Judaism both ancient and modern, which, though they have already appeared in the pages of the *Jewish Quarterly* and the *Jewish Times*, are of sufficient value to justify their publication in a permanent form. Dealing with the topics they do, and written with a vivacious, if not brilliant pen, they will commend themselves to the reader both as bringing to his notice various phases of life and thought, about which to the general public very little is known, and as presenting him with a large amount of information, which, while singularly interesting in itself, is set before him in a most charming way. Some of the papers are biographical, others of them theological, one or two of them are bibliographical, and the rest of them are of a somewhat lighter texture and might almost be called gossip; only the gossip is always that of a scholar with a memory overrunning with all manner of information about Jewish history and literature and the ways of the Jews. The essays are in all fourteen. The first of them is on the Chassidim, or the Pious, a dissenting sect among the Jews in Eastern Europe, originated by Israel Baalshem, a native of Ukop, in Bukovina, who was born about the year 1700. Mr. Schechter has both loved and hated the Chassidim, and 'even now,' he says, 'I am not able to suppress these feelings.' But he adds, 'I have rather tried to guide my feelings in such a way as to love in Chassidim what was ideal and noble, and to hate in it what turned out bad and pernicious for Judaism.' The life of Baalshem was not without its elements of romance, and his followers have added to it many things which are purely legendary. In its origin Chassidim was a revolt against the excessive causticity of the contemporary Rabbis. 'It was in fact,' says Mr. Schechter, 'one more manifestation of the yearning of the human heart towards the Divine idea, and of its ceaseless craving for direct communion with God. It was the protest of an emotional but uneducated people against a one-sided expression of Judaism, presented in cold and over-subtle disquisitions which not only did they not understand, but which shut out the play of the feelings and the affections, so that religion was made impossible to them.' Baalshem had no Rabbi for his master; his teaching, the key-note of which was the Immanence of God, he worked out for himself and communicated to his disciples for the most part orally. On the study of the Law or the observance of its precepts in themselves, he laid little stress; he regarded them as means to an end, and the end,

he taught, is union with God. Out of this mysticism was developed the doctrine of the Intermediary which gave rise to the Zaddikim, a class of men who were supposed to form a connecting bond between God and His creatures, and soon became the distinguishing feature of Chassidism. In other words, Chassidism soon gave way to Zaddikism, and before long dwindled away to little short of man worship. The sect was early rent by divisions; it was persecuted by the orthodox and by the Government; but it still remains. 'Amid much that is bad,' Mr. Schechter remarks, 'the Chassidim have preserved through the whole movement a warm heart, and an ardent, sincere faith.' The three essays which follow, while biographical, are largely expository, and have for their subjects R. Nachman Krochmal (1785-1840), R. Elijah Wilna, Gaon (1720-1797), and R. Moses ben Nachman, or Nachmanides, as he is now commonly called, of Gerona (1195-1270), all of whom were great teachers, and have had a marked influence on the course of Jewish thought. The fifth essay contains a brief sketch of a Jewish Boswell, R. Solomon of St. Goar, who took down the sayings of R. Jacob, who filled the office of Chief Rabbi in Mayence and Worms, some three hundred years before the Laird of Auchinleck did the same for Johnson. The next four essays are theological. Two of them deal with doctrine, and amply refute the saying of Maimonides, that Judaism has no dogmas. Mr. Schechter shows that while Judaism has no definitely elaborated creed or symbol similar to the symbols of the Christian Church, it has nevertheless a fairly numerous set of well defined doctrines, which he illustrates with a variety of quotations from the Talmud and other writings. An essay having for its title 'The History of Jewish Tradition,' may be said to be a short treatise on the history of the interpretation of Scripture among the Jews. Two delightful essays bear the titles respectively of 'The Child in Jewish Literature' and 'Woman in Temple and Synagogue.' 'The Earliest Jewish Community in Europe' approves of the removal of the Ghetto in Rome, and contains much interesting reading about the Jews in the Eternal City. 'Titles of Jewish Books' notes the curious titles Jewish authors were in the habit of giving to their books. Among others mentioned are 'Principal Spices,' 'Meat Offerings Mingled or Dry,' 'Two Young Pigeons,' 'Forests of Honey,' 'The Offering of the Poor,' 'One Kid No Israel,' 'Meat or Coals.' 'Choice Pearls,' however, is more attractive than the prosaic 'Collection of Proverbs and Sayings,' which is what the book contains. 'The Lips of those who Sleep' recommends itself, Mr. Schechter remarks, 'as a very suggestive title for a catalogue, especially when one thinks of the Agadic explanation given to Cant. vii. 10, according to which the study of the book of a departed author makes the lips of the dead man speak. R. Jacob Emden named one of his pamphlets 'Rod for the Fool's Back,' while for a mathematical book R. Joseph Tsarphathi devised the title *City of Sihon*, alluding to Numbers, xxi. 27, for Hesbon (reckoning) is the City of Sihon. In his essay on the Collection of Hebrew books in the British Museum Mr. Schechter laments the little interest which is taken in that magnificent collection, and enumerates a number of the most valuable of its MSS. and volumes. The fame of the collection has penetrated, it would appear, into some of the most obscure places in Poland, where legends circulate about the 'millions' of books which belong to the Queen of England, and a certain autograph copy of the Book of Proverbs, presented to the Queen of Sheba on the occasion of her visit to Jerusalem, and brought by the English troops as a trophy from Abyssinia. We have said sufficient, however, to show the character and contents of Mr. Schechter's *Studies*. Since the publication of Dr. Deutsch's volume nothing equal to it has appeared.

The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth. Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT. Vols. I—V. London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

The students to whom this edition of Wordsworth is dedicated are already under a heavy debt of gratitude to Professor Knight, and this debt promises to be largely increased rather than diminished by the work he has now begun. Whatever may be thought of his work as an editor, there can be no doubt that Professor Knight possesses information, and is in a position to give to the world an edition of Wordsworth such as no one else at present can, and such an one as might well be counted 'final.' His edition of 1882-6, notwithstanding its numerous mistakes, and the *Life* of 1889, notwithstanding its errors, marked a distinct advance, and placed him easily amongst the foremost, if not at the head, of editors of Wordsworth. The present edition, we are glad to say, is not a reprint, nor even an amended edition of that of 1882-6. It retains some of its features, but has others which entitle it to be regarded as new and more complete. The editing in fact has been recast, and as it seems to us, with advantage, the alterations made being, as we venture to think, without exception, improvements. Whether other improvements might not have been added with advantage is perhaps an open question. As for the features of the 1882-6 edition which have been retained the following may be mentioned: (1), The poems are printed in the chronological order of their composition, not in the order of their publication, nor as they were arranged by Wordsworth. (2), The changes made in the text by Wordsworth in successive editions are given at the foot of the pages and duly dated. (3), Other changes suggested by Wordsworth but not printed are also given in the footnotes. (4), The Fenwick notes are printed in full. In addition to these there are the topographical notes, the poems and verses not included by Wordsworth in any of the editions he brought out of his works, the bibliography and the *Life*. Among the changes, it may be noted that the heavy and clumsy volume of the 1882-6 edition has been discarded for the more convenient size of the 'Eversley Series.' The poems are to occupy eight volumes, and along with Wordsworth's poems are to be printed those of his sister Dorothy, and others which the poet published among his own. The notes to the poems are re-arranged, distinguished and dated. All Wordsworth's prose works are to be given in full and are to occupy volumes nine and ten. Dorothy Wordsworth's journals are to be printed, though, for reasons to be explained, not all of them in full. We are also promised the letters of the poet and his sister Dorothy, with many that have not hitherto seen the light, besides a new bibliography and several other items of great interest. The *Life* is to be re-written and shortened so as to occupy only a single volume. Whether this new edition of the Poet will be final it is much too soon to say. For our own part we are not particularly enamoured of the chronological arrangement of the poems. Professor Knight defends it on the ground that it exhibits best the development of the poet's genius. We are not so sure that it does. A poet's mind does not work like a machine, nor can it be said to work evenly. There are tides in the inspiration of genius as there are in intellectual vigour. It is subject to ebb and flow. More perhaps than any one else the poet is a creature of circumstance, and during what may be called his best periods, he may produce, as he often does, work which is much below the level of what he is capable of doing. Besides, in the case of Wordsworth, we have the fact that in regard to some of his poems it is difficult to fix their date either of inception or completion as well as the other, that the poet himself refused to adopt the chronological order and was at great

pains to classify his poems on a different principle. Professor Knight, however, admits that 'the chronological method of arrangement has its limits,' and in several instances, as he explains, departs from it. Still one feels disposed to say, even with this admission: If a principle is worth anything it is worth sticking to. The errata in the 1882-6 edition were striking; here they hold out the promise of being numerous; but leaving these for others who have more space at their command, to point out, we may observe that the word 'gill' is not as Wordsworth believed (Vol. I., p. 10, Note), and as his editor seems to assume, 'confined to this country,' i.e., the Lake District. It often occurs in Scotland, as, for instance, in the name of Normangill, etc., and may be found pretty liberally annotated in Jamieson. On page 253 of the same volume the singular misprint occurs, 'of went years,' for 'twenty years.' Four pages further on Professor Knight's correspondent is not quite accurate as to his translation, nor has the Professor himself laid hold on the right passage from St. Bernard of Clairvaux. It occurs in Ep. 106, and runs as follows: *Experto crede: aliquid amplius invenies in silvis quam in libris. Ligna et lapides docebunt te, quod a magistris audire non possis.* The table of contents to the first volume exhibits the singular omission of all mention of the Preface which runs out to over sixty pages and deserves better treatment. Each volume, we should add, is provided with a beautifully executed portrait and vignette.

Catulli Veronensis Liber. Edited by ARTHUR PALMER, Litt.D., LL.D., D.C.L. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

Professor Palmer has here edited for Messrs. Macmillan's 'Parnassus Library,' the poems of Catullus, for whom he claims the high honour of being 'the most passionate and brilliant, if not the greatest of the Roman poets.' That he was 'the most passionate and brilliant,' will probably be admitted by most; that he was the greatest is probably more than many will admit. In some respects, however, Catullus stands out before any other of the Roman poets either of the Republic or the Empire. In his sincerity, his love of beauty, his rich pictorial power, the startling vividness of his language and imagery, and his mastery over the art of expression, he is often unrivalled. There is no knowing what he might have done had his life been spared, but judged by the works which have survived, though entitled to a high place among the Roman poets, he can scarcely claim to be placed first. Even as a lyrical poet he cannot, as Sellar observed, be placed on the same level with Horace. It is with the text, however, that Professor Palmer has mostly to do. Here he has for the most part followed Professor Robinson Ellis, though not always. The plan of the series does not admit of notes, but to justify his text, Professor Palmer has supplied a list of various readings and added a couple of excursus. An all too brief introduction sketches the life of Catullus and deals with the metres, MSS., and other matters. Like the other volumes in this series the work is handsomely printed and bound, and of a handy size. The elaborate index with which Professor Palmer's volume concludes is an excellent indication of the admirable manner in which he has discharged his duties as editor throughout.

The English Dialect Dictionary. Edited by JOSEPH WRIGHT, M.A., Ph.D. Part I. A to Ballot. London and Oxford: Henry Frowde. New York: Putnam's Sons.

This is the first instalment of a great and important work which has not been begun too soon. It has been long in preparation. Dr. Wright, its accomplished Editor, has had, and still has, many helpers whose joint efforts, it is to be hoped, will meet with the handsome recognition they deserve. The aim of the dictionary is to include as far as possible the vocabulary of all English dialect words which are still in use, or have been in use, during the last two hundred years in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and any American and Colonial dialect words which are still in use in Great Britain and Ireland, or have been found in early printed dialect books and glossaries. The difficulty of compiling such a work is obvious. To ensure success, readers and contributors must be found in every district, and they must work promptly, we should say, as the tendency of things in the present seems to be to assimilate the language all over the country, except in the most remote parts, or where the modern means of locomotion have not yet penetrated. After a careful examination of the Part before us, we have no hesitation in saying that it is scarcely possible to speak too highly of the exhaustive and scholarly way in which the work has been done. Over two thousand simple and compound words, and five hundred phrases, have been treated, and these have been illustrated by 8536 quotations, without counting those which have been cited at the end of each article from early writers. A careful search for omissions has not resulted in the discovery of more than a dozen, and some of these may be at least excused. Under *adder* the Scotch form *nadder* has not been given. *Agate*, a word used in the north for *ajar*, a little open, is omitted. *Agog* sometimes has the sense of 'amazement.' *Alane* is given under *alone*, but it should have been registered separately; so also should *ance*, 'once.' *Aune* is not given, though *awny* is. *Back-water* as a verb, though common enough, is omitted. *Baffing*, making rough sport, though other senses of the word are given, is also omitted. *Baffing-spoon*, the name given to a club used in golf, is wanting, though *to baff* is rightly defined. The cross entries are numerous, yet a few more might have been given; *acht*, to own, for instance. Perfection in a work of this kind is, we should say, impossible, and Dr. Wright may be congratulated upon reaching the very high standard he has.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Field—Fish. By HENRY BRADLEY, M.A. *Diffluent—Disburden.* By Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1896.

The first of these quarterly issues of Dr. Murray's great Dictionary has been prepared under the editorship of his able coadjutor, Mr. Bradley. The number of pages in it is the same as in the other quarterly sections, but the number of main words which are dealt with in it is smaller than in any previous section. The reason is that to a greater extent than in any other portion, the words which are here treated of are among the oldest and most frequently used in the language, and that on this account many of them, in consequence of the multiplicity of their senses and applications, have required to be illustrated at much more than the average length. The total number of words recorded is, on the other hand, much larger owing to the extraordinary abundance of combinations of certain important substantives. The combinations of 'field,' for instance, occupy a couple of pages, and those of 'fire,' six. While between 'Field and Fish,' Johnson records 168 words, the number here recorded is 1985. Johnson's illustrative quotations number only 556, Mr. Bradley gives no fewer than 8526. These numbers speak for themselves and show with what extraordinary care and

elaboration the work of this monumental Dictionary is being carried on. Novelties in the way of derivation are in this section rare, but the development of meaning is, in a number of words, such for instance as 'file,' 'fine,' 'field,' 'fight,' and 'fire,' interesting. The section edited by Dr. Murray, though appearing later than the section just noticed, deals with an earlier part of the alphabet. A great number of the words explained are furnished with the prefix *dis-* or its variants. Here, as in the rest of the Dictionary, the words registered are much more numerous than those given in any of the larger dictionaries, while in the matter of illustrative quotations no comparison can be made. In short, the more carefully each part is examined, the more is one struck with its extraordinary value of the work to which they belong, and its marked superiority over all other works of its kind.

Introduction to Political Science: Two Series of Lectures. By Sir J. R. Seeley, K.C.M.G., Litt.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

The two series of lectures contained in this volume of the 'Eversley Series,' were delivered by the late Sir J. R. Seeley as Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, mainly during the Michaelmas and Lent terms of the academic year 1885-86. They have been prepared for the press by Professor Sidgwick, than whom no more skilful or sympathetic editor could have been found. Written for oral delivery, they do not form a manual of political science; still less do they aim at the communication of a complete system. Their aim is rather to communicate a method and to excite the reader to an independent exercise of thought in applying it. During his occupancy of the Modern History Chair it was the author's custom to give instruction in history and in political science, the former by means of formal public lectures and the latter by means of a conversation class. Of this latter many of Professor Seeley's old students have grateful recollections, and some time ago Mr. J. R. Tanner described the way in which the class was conducted. 'The subject,' he says, 'was political science studied by way of discussion, and discussion under the reverential conditions that prevailed, resolved itself into question and answer—Socrates exposing the folly of the Athenians. It was mainly an exercise in the definition and scientific use of terms. What is liberty? Various definitions of the term would be elicited from the class and subjected to analysis. The authors of them would be lured by subtle cross-examination into themselves exposing their inconsistencies. Then the Professor would take up his parable. He would first discuss the different senses in which the term had already been used in literature. . . . From an examination of inconsistent accounts the Professor would proceed to the business of building up by a gradual process, and with the help of the class itself, a definition of his own.' At times the Professor would vary his method and treat political philosophy in formal lectures as well as in his conversation class. To the objections that his proper function was to teach history and not political science, he was ready to reply that to lecture on political science was in his opinion to lecture on history. The two, he used to maintain, are not distinct but inseparable. To call political science 'a part of history,' he says in his first lecture, might do some violence to the usage of language, but I may venture to say that history without political science is a study incomplete, truncated, as on the other hand, political science without history is hollow and baseless, or in one word:

'History without political science has no fruit,
Political science without history has no root.'

Hence the chief aim of the lectures before us is to enforce and illustrate the two-sided doctrine that the right method of studying political science is an essentially historical method, and that the right method of studying political history is to study it as material for political science. The fruitfulness of this doctrine is obvious. Its treatment has afforded Professor Seeley the opportunity of dealing with many current opinions and of exposing numerous modern political fallacies. The second of the two series of lectures will, in all probability, prove itself the more attractive to the majority of readers as it is here that different forms of government, a number of points in English constitutional history and the practice of Parliament, and such terms as 'aristocracy' are trenchantly discussed.

A Handbook of Greek Sculpture. By ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

Both as to subject and author, Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have been exceedingly fortunate for the initial volume of their new series of 'Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities.' In any such series, Greek Sculpture, on account of its intrinsic importance, deserves the first place, and the task of treating it could scarcely have fallen into more capable hands than those of Professor Gardner, who for some years discharged the duties of Director of the British School of Archaeology at Athens. The present volume is only an instalment and does not bring the history of the subject down to a later date than the year 400 B.C. In a subsequent volume it is proposed to continue the narrative down to the date of the foundation of Constantinople in 324 A.D., Byzantine Art being entirely beyond the scope of the work, but reserved, we may hope, for separate treatment. The plan adopted by Mr. Gardner is simple, and such as will commend itself to those who are acquainted with what is required in a handbook by those for whom handbooks are written. In an introductory chapter of considerable length, Mr Gardner deals with the sources, literary and other, for the history of Greek Sculpture; then with the materials used by the sculptor, the uses to which he put them, and the technical processes he employed in working them. There is also a useful section on the application of colour to sculpture, and another on the use of pointing from a finished model, and one on decorative sculpture. In the first of the two and a half chapters which follow, Mr. Gardner endeavours to appreciate the influence which Egyptian, Assyrian, and Phœnician Art had upon the Greeks and indicates the way in which the rise of Greek Art was conditioned and fostered by the great national games and festivals. From 600 to 480 B.C. is taken by Mr. Gardner as the period during which the Greek sculptor ceased to be an apt imitator of foreign masters and Greek art began to show signs of that development 'which was to lead to the works of Phidias and Praxiteles, and when their chief interest' is 'in their promise for the future.' Here the Schools of Samos, Chios, and Crete, as also of Athens, Argos, and Sicyon are treated, and the monuments of the different schools of the period are classified according to their various localities and described. The first half of the third chapter which is here given is devoted to the fifth century B.C. After pointing out the immense influence which the Persian Wars had upon the development of Greek Art, Mr. Gardner proceeds to deal with the Olympian Sculptures and the works of Calamis, Myron, Pythagoras, and Phidias. Everywhere Mr. Gardner avails himself, as far as possible, of the assistance afforded by Greek writers. In many cases the evidence he has to work upon is slight, but he is always careful in the case of controverted points to put the various

opinions which have been held, and to write as undogmatically as possible, believing it better that the student should be left in doubt than that he should take up with views which he may afterwards require to unlearn.

Darwin, and After Darwin: An Exposition of the Darwinian Theory and a Discussion of Post-Darwinian Questions. By GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Vol. II. London; Longmans, Green, & Co. 1895.

In this, the second and posthumous volume of his discussions, the late Mr. Romanes carries on his exposition of the doctrine of Darwin and his defence of Darwin against some of his followers. Of the ten chapters it contains, the first is introductory and treats of the general theory of descent as held by Darwin and as it is now held by the several divergent schools of thought which have arisen since Darwin's death. The next five chapters are devoted to a discussion of the theory of heredity, and the remainder to the theory of adaptations. The point explained in the first chapter is the fact that Darwin always held, and with increasing firmness, the doctrine that selection has been the main and not the only means of modification, but has been supplemented and assisted by other causes. With this the theory of Wallace and Weissmann, that selection has been the only cause of modification, is strongly contrasted, and the points of difference between the two theories are set out at great length. Mr. Romanes also discriminates between the true Darwinian theory and the ideas propounded by Sachs and Pfeffer, Geddes, Cope, and Hyatt. In the chapters on Heredity Mr. Romanes expresses his conviction that, notwithstanding the arguments of Weissmann, the doctrine stands exactly where it was left by Galton twenty years ago. On the doctrine of utility Mr. Romanes differs from both Wallace and Huxley. In his opinion, regarded as a universal principle, the doctrine of utility is purely *a priori* and being founded exclusively on grounds of deduction, it is impossible to combat it by an appeal to facts. 'The question,' he says, 'is not one of fact; it is a question of reasoning. The treatment of our subject matter is logical, not biological.' As usual, Mr. Romanes here sets forth his ideas and arguments with great force and clearness. The latter are trenchant and exhaustive, and one can only regret that the hand which penned them is no longer with us, and that a career so conspicuously brilliant has come to what to all appearance was, in the interests of science, a premature end.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Book of Job and Ecclesiastes, The Wisdom of Solomon (Macmillan) are two volumes of Professor Moulton's series entitled 'The Modern Reader's Bible.' To the general features of this series we called attention last quarter when noticing the first two numbers of it. The two before us amply bear out the promise of their predecessors. As was remarked then critical questions are avoided and the introduction with which each book is prefaced is for the most part taken up with an explanation or analysis of the text. Mr. Moulton's introduction to the Book of Job is particularly interesting. The analysis is lucid and will help the reader very materially to the understanding of a book whose meaning is not very generally understood, and as to which there is, and probably will continue to be, notwithstanding Professor Moulton's arguments, considerable difference of opinion. The passage in the introduction devoted to the exposition of the idea of Satan and the part he was supposed to play at the time the book of Job

was written, though not new to Theologians, will strike many as peculiar. The introductions to Ecclesiastes and the Book of Wisdom are equally good, but here, again, it is more than probable that Theologians and Biblical critics will have something to say against the views they contain as to the ruling idea of each book. As in the other volumes the text of the Revised Version is used. The notes are frequent and apposite. Those to the Book of Job contain a brief account of Hebrew prosody.

An Ethical Movement (Macmillan) by W. L. Sheldon, is chiefly remarkable as illustrating a movement, which has sprung up in the United States of America and has a few representative societies on this side of the Atlantic, having for its object the study and practice of Ethics of a more or less altruistic kind as a sort of substitute for the Christian religion. The lectures may be called Lay Sermons. There is nothing new in them, but they will serve to show the kind of teaching which is supposed to satisfy a number to whom Christianity, so far as they have heard or understood it, seems to be defective.

Hugh Miller, by W. Keith Leask, *John Knox*, by A. Taylor Innes, and *Robert Burns*, by Gabriel Setoun, are three volumes of Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier's 'Famous Scots' series. The volumes are being issued with commendable rapidity. The sketches they contain are necessarily, owing to the limitations of space, slight, but so far as they go, they have evidently been written with the intention of making them as attractive and popular as possible.

John Chinaman (Hitt, Edinburgh), by the Rev. J. Cockburn, M.A., is an excellent little volume. The author was formerly stationed at Ichang, and has had many opportunities of studying the Chinese on their native soil. The account which he has given of their ways and ideas is remarkably instructive. More accurate information about them may be gathered from these pages than from some volumes, the perusal of which requires the expenditure of more time and patience.

The summer number of *The Evergreen* (P. Geudes & Colleagues) is full of varied and interesting reading. There is a careful and attractive paper in it by Mr. J. A. Thomson, with the title, 'The Biology of Summer,' and another equally good by the Editor, with the somewhat curious title, 'The Flower of the Grass.' Over the signature of Dr. Bellyse Baildon we have a sonnet on Robert Burns of more than average quality. Among the poetry of the volume may also be mentioned a charming song by Sir George Douglas, and one or two effective renderings from the Celtic. If the number is not a specially strong one, it is at anyrate of more than average quality.

Under the title, *Milk, its Nature and Composition* (A. & C. Black), Dr. Aikman has published a small handbook for the use of farmers and the information of the general reader, in which he treats briefly, but lucidly, of the chemistry and bacteriology of milk, butter, and cheese. No attempt has been made to deal with the practice of butter and cheese-making, but the scientific principles underlying these processes have been stated in as popular a way as possible. Incidentally, Dr. Aikman mentions that between the years 1890 and 1892, no fewer than 1013 papers were published in connection with the study of bacteriology. A list of the principal works on dairying is given in an appendix.

In *The Authorship of the Kingis Quair* (MacLehose), Mr. J. T. T. Brown subjects to a very close and searching examination the claims of King James I. to the authorship of the poem mentioned on his title-page.

Writers and Editors, including Dr. Skeat who edited the poem for the Scottish Text Society, have all along assumed that its author was undoubtedly the first of the Jameses, and have gone so far as to fix the year and month in which it was written. Mr. Brown criticises adversely the grounds on which these opinions have been based, and by a variety of evidence, external and internal, attempts to show that the author of the poem cannot have been the King to whom it is usually attributed, but an unknown author, who took for his model the *Court of Love*, a poem written not earlier than 1440, or thirty-five years later than the date to which the authorship of the *Kingis Quair* has hitherto been assigned. Mr. Brown's arguments are strong if not decisive; but perhaps Dr. Skeat may have something to say on the subject.

Scottish Poetry of the Eighteenth Century (Hodge & Co.,) is another volume of the 'Abbotsford Series of the Scottish Poets,' which has been issued under the editorship of Mr. George Eyre-Todd. The selections begin with Lord Yester's 'Tweedside,' and conclude with a couple of pieces by William Julius Meikle. Among them are examples from Alexander Ross, Allan Ramsay, Hamilton of Bangour, and John Skinner. The pieces are carefully edited and a short account is given of the authors from whose works they are taken. To many, one of the surprises of the collection will be to find that 'Rule Britannia' owes its origin to a descendant of the proscribed MacGregors. A second volume is to follow.

The Story of Burns and Highland Mary (Alex. Gardner), by Archibald Munro, M.A., is a book which will find many readers. Mr. Munro has been extremely diligent in his quest for information about Burns and Mary Campbell, and has succeeded almost beyond expectation. There is much that is new in his volume, while his manner of telling the story of the two lovers is skillful and attractive.

The Duties and Liabilities of Trustees (Macmillan), is a series of six lectures delivered by Mr. Birrell, M.P., in the Inner Temple during the Hilary Sittings, 1896, at the request of the Council of Legal Education. They were delivered to law students, but are as free from legal technicalities as possible and can scarcely fail to be intelligible to all whom they concern. Mr. Birrell, in fact, has put what he has to say so clearly and forcibly that no Trustee need have the slightest difficulty in understanding what his duties and responsibilities are. The reading of his lectures is almost as pleasant as that of his *Obiter Dicta*. The same hand is apparent on almost every page as well as the same genial spirit. Law has seldom been expounded in the same luminous and felicitous way. With Mr. Birrell's lectures accessible to him no Trustee will henceforth be able to excuse himself for not being acquainted with the duties and responsibilities of his position.

The publication of the sixth and seventh volumes of the late J. R. Green's *History of the English People* in Messrs. Macmillan's 'Eversley Series,' leaves but one more volume to be issued in order to complete the work in this Series. Its publication in this form is an undoubted gain. Like all the rest of the works in this Series, it is admirably printed, while its low price should place it within the reach of a vast number of readers whose means will not allow them to indulge in the luxury of the more expensive edition.
